

PHILOSOPHICAL  
AND  
MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

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Lately written by

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

*SOME years ago a volume in quarto, intituled, "Experiments and Observations on "Electricity," &c. together with "Letters and "Papers on Philosophical Subjects," by Dr. Franklin, was published; and afterwards another volume in octavo, intituled, "Political, Miscellaneous, and Philosophical Pieces."*

*The Papers now offered to the public were written since the former publications; and the Editor expects shortly to be able to subjoin a Second, to this First Part, and thereby to complete the volume.*

# ALBERT'S MEMOIR

TO THE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE  
CITY OF BOSTON  
FOR THE  
RECORD OF THE  
PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
SOCIETY  
IN THE  
MONTH OF  
JANUARY  
1861



THE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE  
CITY OF BOSTON  
HAS THE  
HONOR TO  
ANNOUNCE  
THAT THE  
PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
SOCIETY  
IN THE  
MONTH OF  
JANUARY  
1861  
WILL BE  
PUBLISHED  
IN THE  
MONTH OF  
FEBRUARY  
1861

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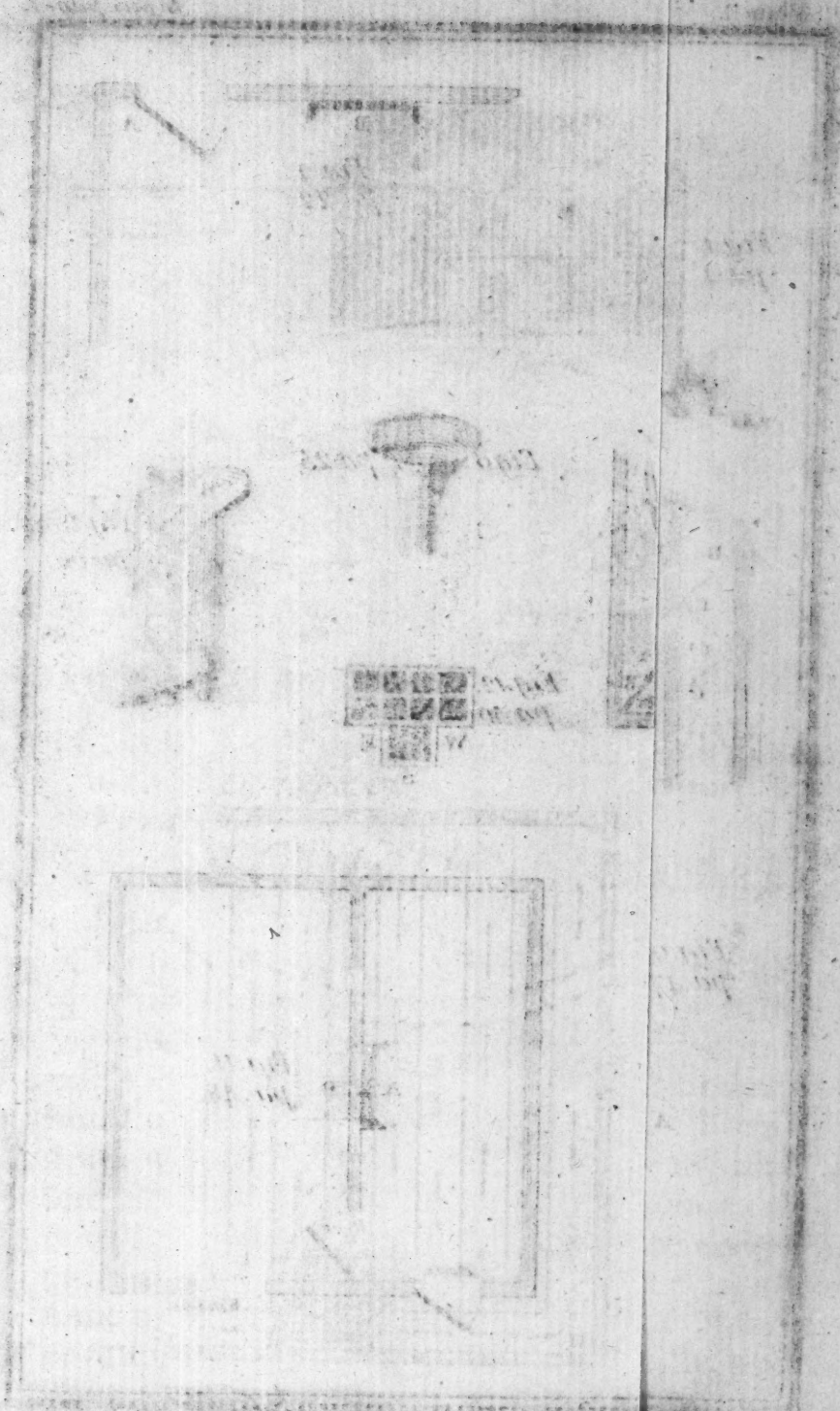
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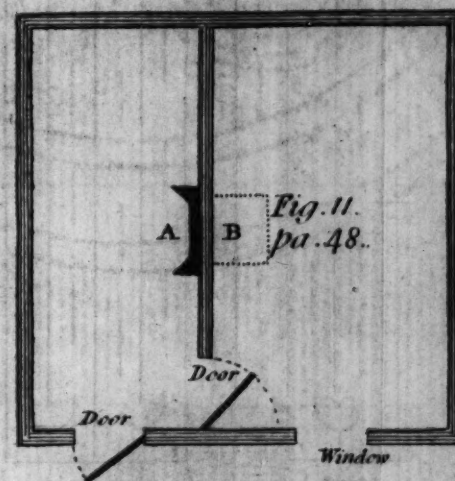
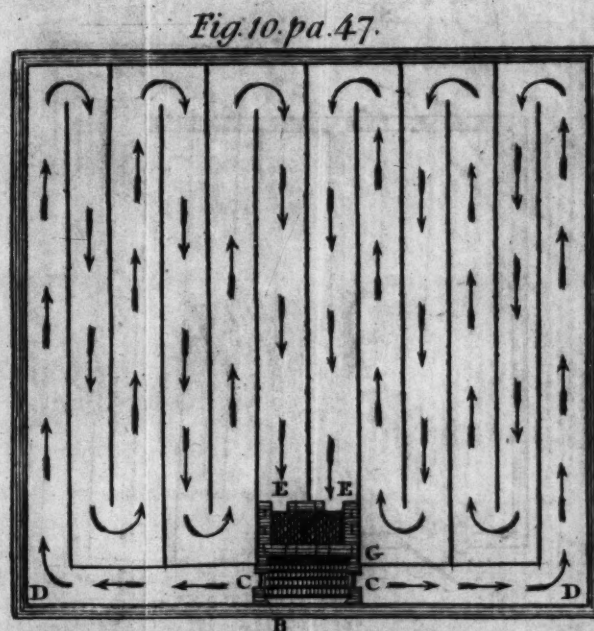
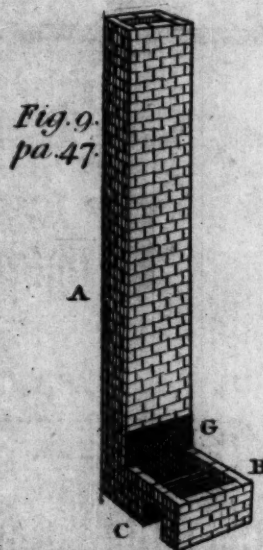
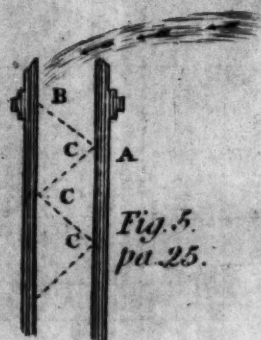
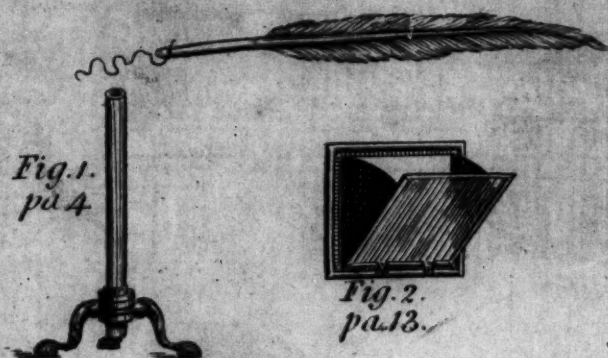
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*A Letter from Dr. B. FRANKLIN to Dr. INGENHAUSZ, Physician to the Emperor, at Vienna.*

At sea, August 28th, 1785.

Dear Friend,

IN one of your letters, a little before I left France, you desire me to give you in writing my thoughts upon the construction and use of chimneys, a subject you had sometimes heard me touch upon in conversation. I embrace willingly this leisure afforded by my present situation to comply with your request, as it will not only show my regard to the desires of a friend, but may at the same time be of some utility to others; the doctrine of chimneys appearing not to be as yet generally well

B

under-



understood, and mistakes respecting them being attended with constant inconvenience, if not remedied; and with fruitless expence, if the true remedies are mistaken.

Those who would be acquainted with this subject should begin by considering on what principle smoke ascends in any chimney. At first many are apt to think that smoke is in its nature and of itself specifically lighter than air, and rises in it for the same reason that cork rises in water. These see no cause why smoke should not rise in the chimney, though the room be ever so close. Others think there is a power in chimneys to *draw* up the smoke, and that there are different forms of chimneys which afford more or less of this power. These amuse themselves with searching for the best form. The equal dimensions of a funnel in its whole length is not thought artificial enough, and it is made, for fancied reasons, sometimes tapering and narrowing from below upwards, and sometimes the contrary, &c. &c. A simple experiment or two may serve to give more correct ideas. Having lit a pipe of tobacco, plunge the stem to the bottom of a decanter half filled with cold water; then putting a rag over the bowl, blow through it and make the smoke descend in the stem of the pipe, from the end of which it will rise in bubbles through the water; and being thus cooled, will not afterwards rise to go out through the neck of the decanter, but remain spreading itself and resting



ing on the surface of the water. This shows that smoke is really heavier than air, and that it is carried upwards only when attached to, or acted upon, by air that is heated, and thereby rarefied and rendered specifically lighter than the air in its neighbourhood.

Smoke being rarely seen but in company with heated air, and its upward motion being visible, though that of the rarefied air that drives it is not so, has naturally given rise to the error.

I need not explain to you, my learned friend, what is meant by rarefied air; but if you make the public use you propose of this letter, it may fall into the hands of some who are unacquainted with the term and with the thing. These then may be told, that air is a fluid which has weight as well as others, though about eight hundred times lighter than water. That heat makes the particles of air recede from each other and take up more space, so that the same weight of air heated will have more bulk, than equal weights of cold air which may surround it, and in that case must rise, being forced upwards by such colder and heavier air, which presses to get under it and take its place. That air is so rarefied or expanded by heat, may be proved to their comprehension by a lank-blown bladder, which laid before a fire will soon swell, grow tight, and burst.

Another experiment may be to take a glass tube about an inch in diameter, and twelve inches long, open at both ends, and fixed upright on legs so that it need not be handled, for the hands might warm it. At the end of a quill fasten five or six inches of the finest light filament of silk, so that it may be held either above the upper end of the tube or under the lower end, your warm hand being at a distance by the length of the quill. If there

Plate I.  
Figure 1.

were any motion of air through the tube, it would manifest itself by its effect on the silk; but if the tube and the air in it are of the same temperature with the surrounding air, there will be no such motion, whatever may be the form of the tube, whether crooked or strait, narrow below and widening upwards, or the contrary; the air in it will be quiescent. Warm the tube, and you will find, as long as it continues warm, a constant current of air entering below and passing up through it, till discharged at the top; because the warmth of the tube being communicated to the air it contains, rarefies that air, and makes it lighter than the air without, which therefore presses in below, forces it upwards, follows and takes its place, and is rarefied in its turn. And, without warming the tube, if you hold under it a knob of hot iron, the air thereby heated will rise and fill the tube, going out at its top, and this motion in the tube will continue as long

as the knob remains hot, because the air entering the tube below is heated and rarefied by passing near and over that knob.

That this motion is produced merely by the difference of specific gravity between the fluid within and that without the tube, and not by any fancied form of the tube itself, may appear by plunging it into water contained in a glass jar a foot deep, through which such motion might be seen. The water within and without the tube being of the same specific gravity, balance each other, and both remain at rest. But take out the tube, stop its bottom with a finger, and fill it with olive oil, which is lighter than water, then stopping the top, place it as before, its lower end under water, its top a very little above. As long as you keep the bottom stopt, the fluids remain at rest, but the moment it is unstopt, the heavier enters below, forces up the lighter, and takes its place. And the motion then ceases, merely because the new fluid cannot be successively made lighter, as air may be by a warm tube.

In fact, no form of the funnel of a chimney has any share in its operation or effect respecting smoke, except its height. The longer the funnel, if erect, the greater its force when filled with heated and rarefied air, to *draw* in below and drive up the smoke, if one may, in compliance with custom, use the expression *draw*, when in fact it is the superior weight of

the surrounding atmosphere that *presses* to enter the funnel below, and so *drives up* before it the smoke and warm air it meets with in its passage.

I have been the more particular in explaining these first principles, because, for want of clear ideas respecting them, much fruitless expence has been occasioned; not only single chimneys, but in some instances, within my knowledge, whole stacks having been pulled down and rebuilt with funnels of different forms, imagined more powerful in *drawing* smoke; but having still the same height and the same opening below, have performed no better than their predecessors.

What is it then which makes a *smoky chimney*, that is, a chimney which instead of conveying up all the smoke, discharges a part of it into the room, offending the eyes, and damaging the furniture?

The causes of this effect, which have fallen under my observation, amount to *nine*, differing from each other, and therefore requiring different remedies.

1. *Smoky chimneys, in a new house, are such frequently from mere want of air.* The workmanship of the rooms being all good, and just out of the workman's hand, the joints of the boards of the flooring, and of the pannels of wainscoting, are all true and tight, the more so as the walls, perhaps not yet thoroughly dry, preserve a dampness in the air of the room  
which



which keeps the wood-work swelled and close. The doors and the sashes too, being worked with truth, shut with exactness, so that the room is as tight as a snuff-box, no passage being left open for air to enter, except the key-hole, and even that is sometimes covered by a little dropping shutter. Now if smoke cannot rise but as connected with rarefied air, and a column of such air, suppose it filling the funnel, cannot rise, unless other air be admitted to supply its place; and if, therefore, no current of air enter the opening of the chimney, there is nothing to prevent the smoke coming out into the room. If the motion upwards of the air in a chimney that is freely supplied, be observed by the rising of the smoke or a feather in it, and it be considered that in the time such feather takes in rising from the fire to the top of a chimney, a column of air equal to the content of the funnel must be discharged, and an equal quantity supplied from the room below, it will appear absolutely impossible that this operation should go on if the tight room is kept shut; for were there any force capable of drawing constantly so much air out of it, it must soon be exhausted like the receiver of an air-pump, and no animal could live in it. Those therefore who stop every crevice in a room to prevent the admission of fresh air, and yet would have their chimney carry up the smoke, require inconsistencies, and expect impossibilities. Yet, under this situation, I have

seen the owner of a new house, in despair, and ready to sell it for much less than it cost, conceiving it uninhabitable, because not a chimney in any one of its rooms would carry off the smoke, unless a door or window were left open. Much expence has also been made, to alter and amend new chimneys which had really no fault; in one house particularly that I knew, of a nobleman in Westminster, that expence amounted to no less than three hundred pounds, *after* his house had been, as he thought, finished, and all charges paid. And after all, several of the alterations were ineffectual, for want of understanding the true principles.

*Remedies.* When you find, on trial, that opening the door or a window enables the chimney to carry up all the smoke, you may be sure that want of air *from without* was the cause of its smoking. I say *from without*, to guard you against a common mistake of those who may tell you, the room is large, contains abundance of air, sufficient to supply any chimney, and therefore it cannot be that the chimney wants air. These reasoners are ignorant, that the largeness of a room, if tight, is in this case of small importance, since it cannot part with a chimney full of its air without occasioning so much vacuum; which it requires a great force to effect, and could not be borne if effected.

It appearing plainly, then, that some of the outward air must be admitted, the question  
will

will be, how much is *absolutely necessary*; for you would avoid admitting more, as being contrary to one of your intentions in having a fire viz. that of warming your room. To discover this quantity, shut the door gradually while a middling fire is burning, till you find that, before it is quite shut, the smoke begins to come out into the room, then open it a little till you perceive the smoke comes out no longer. There hold the door, and observe the width of the open crevice between the edge of the door and the rabbit it should shut into. Suppose the distance to be half an inch, and the door eight feet high, you find thence that your room requires an entrance for air equal in area to ninety-six half inches, or forty-eight square inches, or a passage of six inches by eight. This however is a large supposition, there being few chimneys that, having a moderate opening and a tolerable height of funnel, will not be satisfied with such a crevice of a quarter of an inch; and I have found a square of six by six, or thirty-six square inches, to be a pretty good medium, that will serve for most chimneys. High funnels with small and low openings, may indeed be supplied through a less space, because, for reasons that will appear hereafter, the *force of levity*, if one may so speak, being greater in such funnels, the cool air enters the room with greater velocity, and consequently more enters in the same time. This however has its limits, for  
experience

experience shows that no increased velocity so occasioned, has made the admission of air through the key-hole equal in quantity to that through an open door; though through the door the current moves slowly, and through the key-hole with great rapidity.

It remains then to be considered how and where this necessary quantity of air from without is to be admitted so as to be least inconvenient. For, if at the door, left so much open, the air thence proceeds directly to the chimney, and in its way comes cold to your back and heels as you sit before your fire. If you keep the door shut, and raise a little the sash of your window, you feel the same inconvenience. Various have been the contrivances to avoid this, such as bringing in fresh air through pipes in the jams of the chimney, which pointing upwards should blow the smoke up the funnel; opening passages into the funnel above, to let in air for the same purpose. But these produce an effect contrary to that intended: For as it is the constant current of air passing from the room *through the opening of the chimney* into the funnel, which prevents the smoke coming out into the room, if you supply the funnel by other means or in other ways with the air it wants, and especially if that air be cold, you diminish the force of that current, and the smoke, in its efforts to enter the room, finds less resistance.

The



The wanted air must then *indispensably* be admitted into the room, to supply what goes off through the opening of the chimney. M. Gauger, a very ingenious and intelligent French writer on the subject, proposes with judgment to admit it *above* the opening of the chimney; and to prevent inconvenience from its coldness, he directs its being made to pass in its entrance through winding cavities made behind the iron back and sides of the fire-place, and under the iron hearth-plate; in which cavities it will be warmed, and even heated, so as to contribute much, instead of cooling, to the warming of the room. This invention is excellent in itself, and may be used with advantage in building new houses; because the chimneys may then be so disposed, as to admit conveniently the cold air to enter such passages: but in houses built without such views, the chimneys are often so situated, as not to afford that convenience without great and expensive alterations. Easy and cheap methods, though not quite so perfect in themselves, are of more general utility; and such are the following.

In all rooms where there is a fire, the body of air warmed and rarefied before the chimney is continually changing place, and making room for other air that is to be warmed in its turn. Part of it enters and goes up the chimney, and the rest rises and takes place near the ceiling.

ceiling. If the room be lofty, that warm air remains above our heads as long as it continues warm, and we are little benefited by it, because it does not descend till it is cooler. Few can imagine the difference of climate between the upper and lower parts of such a room, who have not tried it by the thermometer, or by going up a ladder till their heads are near the ceiling. It is then among this warm air that the wanted quantity of outward air is best admitted, with which being mixed, its coldness is abated, and its inconvenience diminished so as to become scarce observable. This may be easily done, by drawing down about an inch the upper sash of a window; or, if not moveable, by cutting such a crevice through its frame; in both which cases, it will be well to place a thin shelf of the length, to conceal the opening, and sloping upwards to direct the entering air horizontally along and under the ceiling. In some houses the air may be admitted by such a crevice made in the wainscot, cornice, or plaistering, near the ceiling and over the opening of the chimney. This, if practicable, is to be chosen, because the entering cold air will there meet with the warmest rising air from before the fire, and be soonest tempered by the mixture: the same kind of shelf should also be placed here. Another way, and not a very difficult one, is to take out an upper pane of glass in one of your sashes,

fashes, set it in a tin frame, giving it two springing angular sides, and then replacing it, with hinges below on which it may be turned to open more or less above. It will then have the appearance of an internal sky-light. By drawing this pane in, more or less, you may admit what air you find necessary. Its position will naturally throw that air up and along the ceiling. This is what is called in France a *Was ist das?* As this is a German question, the invention is probably of that nation, and takes its name from the frequent asking of that question when it first appeared. In England, some have of late years cut a round hole about five inches diameter in a pane of the fash, and placed against it a circular plate of tin hung on an axis, and cut into vanes, which being separately bent a little obliquely, are acted upon by the entering air, so as to force the plate continually round like the vanes of a windmill. This admits the outward air, and by the continual whirling of the vanes, does in some degree disperse it. The noise only is a little inconvenient.

Plate I.  
Figure 2.

2. A second cause of the smoking of chimneys is, *their openings in the room being too large*; that is, too wide, too high, or both. Architects in general have no other ideas of proportion in the opening of a chimney, than what relate to symmetry and beauty, respecting the dimensions of the room\*; while its

\* See Appendix, N° I.

true proportion, respecting its function and utility, depends on quite other principles; and they might as properly proportion the step in a staircase to the height of the story, instead of the natural elevation of men's legs in mounting. The proportion then to be regarded, is what relates to the height of the funnel. For as the funnels in the different stories of a house are necessarily of different heights or lengths, that from the lowest floor being the highest or longest, and those of the other floors shorter and shorter, till we come to those in the garrets, which are of course the shortest; and the force of draught being, as already said, in proportion to the height of funnel filled with rarefied air; and a current of air from the room into the chimney, sufficient to fill the opening, being necessary to oppose and prevent the smoke coming out into the room; it follows that the openings of the longest funnels may be larger, and that those of the shorter funnels should be smaller. For if there be a large opening to a chimney that does not draw strongly, the funnel may happen to be furnished with the air it demands by a partial current entering on one side of the opening, and leaving the other side free of any opposing current, may permit the smoke to issue there into the room. Much too of the force of draught in a funnel depends on the degree of rarefaction in the air it contains, and that depends on the nearness to the fire of its passage in entering the funnel. If  
it



it can enter far from the fire on each side, or far above the fire, in a wide or high opening, it receives little heat in passing by the fire, and the contents of the funnel is by that means less different in levity from the surrounding atmosphere, and its force in drawing consequently weaker. Hence if too large an opening be given to chimneys in upper rooms, those rooms will be smoky : on the other hand, if too small openings be given to chimneys in the lower rooms, the entering air operating too directly and violently on the fire, and afterwards strengthening the draught as it ascends the funnel, will consume the fuel too rapidly.

*Remedy.* As different circumstances frequently mix themselves in these matters, it is difficult to give precise dimensions for the openings of all chimneys. Our fathers made them generally much too large ; we have lessened them ; but they are often still of greater dimension than they should be, the human eye not being easily reconciled to sudden and great changes. If you suspect that your chimney smokes from the too great dimension of its opening, contract it by placing moveable boards so as to lower and narrow it gradually, till you find the smoke no longer issues into the room. The proportion so found will be that which is proper for that chimney, and you may employ the bricklayer or mason to reduce it accordingly. However, as, in building new houses, something must be sometimes hazarded,

I would make the openings in my lower rooms about thirty inches square and eighteen deep, and those in the upper only eighteen inches square, and not quite so deep; the intermediate ones diminishing in proportion as the height of funnel diminished. In the larger openings, billets of two feet long, or half the common length of cord-wood, may be burnt conveniently; and for the smaller, such wood may be sawed into thirds. Where coals are the fuel, the grates will be proportioned to the openings. The same depth is nearly necessary to all, the funnels being all made of a size proper to admit a chimney-sweeper. If in large and elegant rooms, custom or fancy should require the appearance of a larger chimney, it may be formed of expensive marginal decorations, in marble, &c. In time perhaps that which is fittest in the nature of things, may come to be thought handsomest. But at present, when men and women in different countries show themselves dissatisfied with the forms God has given to their heads, waists, and feet, and pretend to shape them more perfectly, it is hardly to be expected that they will be content always with the best form of a chimney. And there are some, I know, so bigotted to the fancy of a large noble opening, that, rather than change it, they would submit to have damaged furniture, sore eyes, and skins almost smoked to bacon.

3. Another

3. Another cause of smoky chimneys is, *too short a funnel*. This happens necessarily in some cases, as where a chimney is required in a low building; for, if the funnel be raised high above the roof, in order to strengthen its draught, it is then in danger of being blown down, and crushing the roof in its fall.

*Remedies.* Contract the opening of the chimney, so as to oblige all the entering air to pass through or very near the fire; whereby it will be more heated and rarefied, the funnel itself be more warmed, and its contents have more of what may be called the force of levity, so as to rise strongly and maintain a good draught at the opening.

Or you may in some cases, to advantage, build additional stories over the low building, which will support a high funnel.

If the low building be used as a kitchen, and a contraction of the opening therefore inconvenient, a large one being necessary, at least when there are great dinners, for the free management of so many cooking utensils; in such case I would advise the building of two more funnels joining to the first, and having three moderate openings, one to each funnel, instead of one large one. When there is occasion to use but one, the other two may be kept shut by sliding plates, hereafter to be described\*; and two or all of them may be

\* See Appendix, N° II.

used together when wanted. This will indeed be an expence, but not an useless one, since your cooks will work with more comfort, see better than in a smoky kitchen what they are about, your victuals will be cleaner dressed, and not taste of smoke, as is often the case; and to render the effect more certain, a stack of three funnels may be safely built higher above the roof than a single funnel.

The case of too short a funnel is more general than would be imagined, and often found where one would not expect it. For it is not uncommon, in ill-contrived buildings, instead of having a funnel for each room or fire-place, to bend and turn the funnel of an upper room so as to make it enter the side of another funnel that comes from below. By this means the upper room funnel is made short of course, since its length can only be reckoned from the place where it enters the lower room funnel; and that funnel is also shortened by all the distance between the entrance of the second funnel and the top of the stack: for all that part being readily supplied with air through the second funnel, adds no strength to the draught, especially as that air is cold when there is no fire in the second chimney. The only easy remedy here is, to keep the opening shut of that funnel in which there is no fire.

4. Another very common cause of the smoking of chimneys is, *their overpowering one another*. For instance, if there be two chimneys  
in



in one large room, and you make fires in both of them, the doors and windows close shut, you will find that the greater and stronger fire shall overpower the weaker, and draw air down its funnel to supply its own demand; which air descending in the weaker funnel will drive down its smoke, and force it into the room. If, instead of being in one room, the two chimneys are in two different rooms, communicating by a door, the case is the same whenever that door is open. In a very tight house, I have known a kitchen chimney on the lowest floor, when it had a great fire in it, overpower any other chimney in the house, and draw air and smoke into its room, as often as the door was opened communicating with the staircase.

*Remedy.* Take care that every room have the means of supplying itself from without with the air its chimney may require, so that no one of them may be obliged to borrow from another, nor under the necessity of lending. A variety of these means have been already described.

5. Another cause of smoking is, *when the tops of chimneys are commanded by higher buildings, or by a hill*, so that the wind, blowing over such eminences, falls like water over a dam, sometimes almost perpendicularly on the tops of the chimneys that lie in its way, and beats down the smoke contained in them.

*Remedy.* That commonly applied to this case, is a turncap made of tin or plate iron, covering the chimney above and on three sides, open on one side, turning on a spindle, and which, being guided or governed by a vane, always presents its back to the current. This, I believe, may be generally effectual, though not certain, as there may be cases in which it will not succeed. Raising your funnels, if practicable, so as their tops may be higher, or at least equal with the commanding eminence, is more to be depended on. But the turning cap, being easier and cheaper, should first be tried. If obliged to build in such a situation, I would chuse to place my doors on the side next the hill, and the backs of my chimneys on the furthest side; for then the column of air falling over the eminence, and of course pressing on that below, and forcing it to enter the doors or *was-ist-dases* on that side, would tend to balance the pressure down the chimneys, and leave the funnels more free in the exercise of their functions.

6. There is another case of command, the reverse of that last-mentioned. It is where the commanding eminence is farther from the wind than the chimney commanded. To explain this a figure may be necessary. Suppose then a building whose side A, happens to be exposed to the wind, and forms a kind of dam against its progress. The air obstructed by this dam will, like water,  
press

Plate I.  
Figure 3.

press and search for passages through it; and finding the top of the chimney B, below the top of the dam, it will force itself down that funnel, in order to get through by some door or window open on the other side of the building. And if there be a fire in such chimney, its smoke is of course beat down, and fills the room.

*Remedy.* I know of but one, which is to raise such funnel higher than the roof, supporting it, if necessary, by iron bars. For a turncap in this case has no effect, the dammed up air pressing down through it in whatever position the wind may have placed its opening.

I know a city in which many houses are rendered smoky by this operation; for their kitchens being built behind, and connected by a passage with the houses, and the tops of the kitchen chimneys lower than the tops of the houses, the whole side of a street, when the wind blows against its back, forms such a dam as above described; and the wind so obstructed forces down those kitchen chimneys (especially when they have but weak fires in them) to pass through the passage and house into the street. Kitchen chimneys so formed and situated have another inconvenience: in summer, if you open your upper room windows for air, a light breeze blowing over your kitchen chimney towards the house, though not strong enough to force down its smoke as aforesaid,

is sufficient to waft it into your windows, and fill the rooms with it; which, besides the disagreeableness, damages your furniture.

7. Chimneys, otherwise drawing well, are sometimes made to smoke by *the improper and inconvenient situation of a door*. When the door and chimney are on the same side of the room as in the figure, if the door A, being in the corner is made to open against the

Plate I.  
Figure 4.

wall, which is common, as being there, when open, more out of the way, it follows, that when the door is only opened in part, a current of air rushing in, passes along the wall into and across the opening of the chimney B, and flirts some of the smoke out into the room. This happens more certainly when the door is shutting, for then the force of the current is augmented, and becomes very inconvenient to those who, warming themselves by the fire, happen to sit in its way.

The *Remedies* are obvious and easy. Either put an intervening screen from the wall round great part of the fire-place; or, which is perhaps preferable, shift the hinges of your door, so as it may open the other way, and when open, throw the air along the other wall.

8. A room that has no fire in its chimney is sometimes filled with *smoke, which is received at the top of its funnel, and descends into the room*. In a former paper \* I have already ex-

\* See Appendix, N° II.

plained



plained the descending currents of air in cold funnels; it may not be amiss however to repeat here, that funnels without fires have an effect, according to their degree of coldness or warmth, on the air that happens to be contained in them. The surrounding atmosphere is frequently changing its temperature; but stacks of funnels, covered from winds and sun by the house that contains them, retain a more equal temperature. If, after a warm season, the outward air suddenly grows cold, the empty warm funnels begin to draw strongly upward; that is, they rarefy the air contained in them, which of course rises, cooler air enters below to supply its place, is rarefied in its turn, and rises; and this operation continues, till the funnel grows cooler, or the outward air warmer, or both, when the motion ceases. On the other hand, if, after a cold season, the outward air suddenly grows warm, and of course lighter, the air contained in the cool funnels, being heavier, descends into the room; and the warmer air which enters their tops, being cooled in its turn, and made heavier, continues to descend; and this operation goes on, till the funnels are warmed by the passing of warm air through them, or the air itself grows cooler. When the temperature of the air and of the funnels is nearly equal, the difference of warmth in the air between day and night is sufficient to produce these currents, the air will begin to ascend the funnels as the cool of the evening

comes on, and this current will continue till perhaps nine or ten o'clock the next morning, when it begins to hesitate; and as the heat of the day approaches, it sets downwards, and continues so till towards evening, when it again hesitates for some time, and then goes upwards constantly during the night, as before mentioned. Now when smoke issuing from the tops of neighbouring funnels passes over the tops of funnels which are at the time drawing downwards, as they often are in the middle part of the day, such smoke is of necessity drawn into these funnels, and descends with the air into the chamber.

The *Remedy* is, to have a sliding plate, hereafter described \*, that will shut perfectly the offending funnel.

9. Chimneys which generally draw well, do nevertheless sometimes give smoke into the rooms, *it being driven down by strong winds passing over the tops of their funnels*, though not descending from any commanding eminence. This case is most frequent where the funnel is short, and the opening turned from the wind. It is the more grievous, when it happens to be a cold wind that produces the effect, because when you most want your fire you are sometimes obliged to extinguish it. To understand this, it may be considered that the rising light air, to obtain a free issue from

\* See Appendix, N° II.

the funnel, must push out of its way, or oblige the air that is over it to rise. In a time of calm, or of little wind, this is done visibly, for we see the smoke that is brought up by that air rise in a column above the chimney. But when a violent current of air, that is, a strong wind, passes over the top of a chimney, its particles have received so much force, which keeps them in a horizontal direction, and follow each other so rapidly, that the rising light air has not strength sufficient to oblige them to quit that direction and move upwards to permit its issue. Add to this, that some of the current passing over that side of the funnel which it first meets with, viz, at A, having been compressed by Plate I.  
Figure 5. the resistance of the funnel, may expand itself over the flue, and strike the interior opposite side at B, from whence it may be reflected downwards, and from side to side, in the direction of the pricked lines c c c.

*Remedies.* In some places, particularly in Venice, where they have not stacks of chimneys but single flues, the custom is, to open or widen the top of the flue rounding Plate I.  
Figure 6. in the true form of a funnel; which some think may prevent the effect just mentioned, for that the wind blowing over one of the edges into the funnel may be flanted out again on the other side by its form. I have had no experience of this; but I have lived

lived in a windy country, where the contrary is practised, the tops of the flues being *narrowed* inwards, so as to form a slit for the issue of the smoke, long as the breadth of the funnel, and only four inches wide. This seems to have been contrived on a supposition that the entry of the wind would thereby be obstructed; and perhaps it might have been imagined, that the whole force of the rising warm air being condensed, as it were, in the narrow opening, would thereby be strengthened, so as to overcome the resistance of the wind. This however did not always succeed; for when the wind was at north-east, and blew fresh, the smoke was forced down by fits into the room I commonly sat in, so as to oblige me to shift the fire into another. The position of the slit of this funnel was indeed north-east and south-west. Perhaps if it had lain across the wind, the effect might have been different. But on this I can give no certainty. It seems a matter proper to be referred to experiment. Possibly a turncap might have been serviceable, but it was not tried.

Chimneys have not been long in use in England. I formerly saw a book, printed in the time of queen Elizabeth, which remarked the then modern improvements of living, and mentioned among others the convenience of chimneys. "Our forefathers," said the author, "had no chimneys. There was in each dwelling-house only a place for a fire, and the  
" smoke



“ smoke went out through a hole in the roof;  
“ but now there is scarce a gentleman’s house  
“ in England that has not at least one chim-  
“ ney in it.”—When there was but one chim-  
ney, its top might then be opened as a funnel,  
and perhaps, borrowing the form from the  
Venetians, it was then the flue of a chimney  
got that name. Such is now the growth of  
luxury, that in both England and France we  
must have a chimney for every room, and in  
some houses every possessor of a chamber, and  
almost every servant, will have a fire; so that the  
flues being necessarily built in stacks, the open-  
ing of each as a funnel is impracticable. This  
change of manners soon consumed the fire-  
wood of England, and will soon render fuel  
extremely scarce and dear in France, if the use  
of coals be not introduced in the latter king-  
dom, as it has been in the former, where it at  
first met with opposition; for there is extant  
in the records of one of queen Elizabeth’s  
parliaments, a motion made by a member, re-  
citing, “ that many dyers, brewers, smiths,  
“ and other artificers of London, had of late  
“ taken to the use of pitcoal for their fires,  
“ instead of wood, which filled the air with  
“ noxious vapours and smoke, very prejudicial  
“ to the health, particularly of persons com-  
“ ing out of the country; and therefore mov-  
“ ing that a law might pass to prohibit the  
“ use of such fuel (at least during the session  
“ of parliament) by those artificers.”—It seems  
it

it was not then commonly used in private houses. Its supposed unwholesomeness was an objection. Luckily the inhabitants of London have got over that objection, and now think it rather contributes to render their air salubrious, as they have had no general pestilential disorder since the general use of coals, when, before it, such were frequent. Paris still burns wood at an enormous expence continually augmenting, the inhabitants having still that prejudice to overcome. In Germany you are happy in the use of stoves, which save fuel wonderfully: your people are very ingenious in the management of fire; but they may still learn something in that art from the Chinese\*, whose country being greatly populous and fully cultivated, has little room left for the growth of wood, and having not much other fuel that is good, have been forced upon many inventions, during a course of ages, for making a little fire go as far as possible.

I have thus gone through all the common causes of the smoking of chimneys that I can at present recollect as having fallen under my observation; communicating the remedies that I have known successfully used for the different cases, together with the principles on which both the disease and the remedy depend, and confessing my ignorance wherever I have been sensible of it. You will do well, if you pub-

\* See Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> III.

lish, as you propose, this letter, to add in notes, or as you please, such observations as may have occurred to your attentive mind; and if other philosophers will do the same, this part of science, though humble, yet of great utility, may in time be perfected. For many years past, I have rarely met with a case of a smoky chimney, which has not been solvable on these principles, and cured by these remedies, where people have been willing to apply them; which is indeed not always the case; for many have prejudices in favour of the nostrums of pretending chimney-doctors and fumists, and some have conceits and fancies of their own, which they rather chuse to try, than to lengthen a funnel, alter the size of an opening, or admit air into a room, however necessary; for some are as much afraid of fresh air as persons in the hydrophobia are of fresh water. I myself had formerly this prejudice, this *aerophobia*, as I now account it, and dreading the supposed dangerous effects of cool air, I considered it as an enemy, and closed with extreme care every crevice in the rooms I inhabited. Experience has convinced me of my error. I now look upon fresh air as a friend; I even sleep with an open window. I am persuaded that no common air from without, is so unwholesome as the air within a close room that has been often breathed and not changed. Moist air too, which formerly I thought pernicious, gives me now no apprehensions: for considering that no dampness

dampness of air applied to the outside of my skin, can be equal to what is applied to and touches it within, my whole body being full of moisture, and finding that I can lie two hours in a bath twice a week; covered with water, which certainly is much damper than any air can be, and this for years together, without catching cold, or being in any other manner disordered by it, I no longer dread mere moisture, either in air or in sheets or shirts : and I find it of importance to the happiness of life, the being freed from vain terrors, especially of objects that we are every day exposed inevitably to meet with. You physicians have of late happily discovered, after a contrary opinion had prevailed some ages, that fresh and cool air does good to persons in the small-pox and other fevers. It is to be hoped that in another century or two we may all find out, that it is not bad even for people in health. And as to moist air, here I am at this present writing in a ship with above forty persons, who have had no other but moist air to breathe for six weeks past ; every thing we touch is damp, and nothing dries, yet we are all as healthy as we should be on the mountains of Switzerland, whose inhabitants are not more so than those of Bermuda or St. Helena, islands on whose rocks the waves are dashed into millions of particles, which fill the air with damp, but produce no diseases, the moisture being pure, unmixed with the poisonous vapours



vapours arising from putrid marshes and stagnant pools, in which many insects die and corrupt the water. These places only, in my opinion, (which however I submit to yours) afford unwholesome air; and that it is not the mere water contained in damp air, but the volatile particles of corrupted animal matter mixed with that water, which renders such air pernicious to those who breathe it. And I imagine it a cause of the same kind that renders the air in close rooms, where the perspirable matter is breathed over and over again by a number of assembled people, so hurtful to health. After being in such a situation, many find themselves affected by that *febricula*, which the English alone call *a cold*, and, perhaps from the name, imagine that they caught the malady by *going out* of the room, when it was in fact by being in it.

You begin to think that I wander from my subject, and go out of my depth. So I return again to my chimneys.

We have of late many lecturers in experimental philosophy. I have wished that some of them would study this branch of that science, and give experiments in it as a part of their lectures. The addition to their present apparatus need not be very expensive. A number of little representations of rooms, composed each of five panes of sash glass, framed in wood at the corners, with proportionable doors, and moveable glass chimneys, with openings of different

ferent sizes, and different lengths of funnel, and some of the rooms so contrived as to communicate on occasion with others, so as to form different combinations, and exemplify different cases ; with quantities of green wax taper cut into pieces of an inch and half, sixteen of which stuck together in a square, and lit, would make a strong fire for a little glass chimney, and blown out would continue to burn and give smoke as long as desired. With such an apparatus all the operations of smoke and rarefied air in rooms and chimneys might be seen through their transparent sides ; and the effect of winds on chimneys, commanded or otherwise, might be shown by letting the entering air blow upon them through an opened window of the lecturer's chamber, where it would be constant while he kept a good fire in his chimney. By the help of such lectures our fumists would become better instructed. At present they have generally but one remedy, which perhaps they have known effectual in some one case of smoky chimneys, and they apply that indiscriminately to all the other cases, without success,—but not without expence to their employers.

With all the science, however, that a man shall suppose himself possessed of in this article, he may sometimes meet with cases that shall puzzle him. I once lodged in a house at London, which, in a little room, had a single chimney and funnel. The opening was very

8

small,

small, yet it did not keep in the smoke, and all attempt to have a fire in this room were fruitless. I could not imagine the reason, till at length observing that the chamber over it, which had no fire-place in it, was always filled with smoke when a fire was kindled below, and that the smoke came through the cracks and crevices of the wainscot; I had the wainscot taken down, and discovered that the funnel which went up behind it, had a crack many feet in length, and wide enough to admit my arm, a breach very dangerous with regard to fire, and occasioned probably by an apparent irregular settling of one side of the house. The air entering this breach freely, destroyed the drawing force of the funnel. The remedy would have been, filling up the breach, or rather rebuilding the funnel: but the landlord rather chose to stop up the chimney.

Another puzzling case I met with at a friend's country-house near London. His best room had a chimney in which, he told me, he never could have a fire, for all the smoke came out into the room. I flattered myself I could easily find the cause, and prescribe the cure. I had a fire made there, and found it as he said. I opened the door, and perceived it was not want of air. I made a temporary contraction of the opening of the chimney, and found that it was not its being too large that caused the smoke to issue. I went out and looked up at the top of the

D chimney:

chimney : its funnel was joined in the same stack with others, some of them shorter, that drew very well, and I saw nothing to prevent its doing the same. In fine, after every other examination I could think of, I was obliged to own the insufficiency of my skill. But my friend, who made no pretension to such kind of knowledge, afterwards discovered the cause himself. He got to the top of the funnel by a ladder, and looking down, found it filled with twigs and straw cemented by earth, and lined with feathers. It seems the house, after being built, had stood empty some years before he occupied it ; and he concluded that some large birds had taken the advantage of its retired situation to make their nest there. The rubbish, considerable in quantity, being removed, and the funnel cleared, the chimney drew well, and gave satisfaction.

In general, smoke is a very tractable thing, easily governed and directed when one knows the principles, and is well informed of the circumstances. You know I made it *descend* in my Pennsylvania stove. I formerly had a more simple construction, in which the same effect was produced, but visible to the eye. It was

composed of two plates A B and C D, placed as in the figure. The lower plate A B rested with its edge in the angle made by the hearth with the back of the chimney. The upper plate was fixed to the breast, and lapt over the lower about six inches, leaving

Plate I.  
Figure 7.



leaving a space of four inches wide and the length of the plates (near two feet) between them. Every other passage of air into the funnel was well stopped. When therefore a fire was made at E, for the first time with charcoal, till the air in the funnel was a little heated through the plates, and then wood laid on, the smoke would rise to A, turn over the edge of that plate, descend to D, then turn under the edge of the upper plate, and go up the chimney. It was pretty to see, but of no great use. Placing therefore the under plate in a higher situation, I removed the upper plate C D, and placed it perpendicularly, so that the upper edge of the lower plate A B came within about three inches of it, and might be pushed farther from it, or suffered to come nearer to it, by a moveable wedge between them. The flame then ascending from the fire at E, was carried to strike the upper plate, made it very hot, and its heat rose and spread with the rarefied air into the room.

Plate I.  
Figure 8.

I believe you have seen in use with me, the contrivance of a sliding-plate over the fire, seemingly placed to oppose the rising of the smoke, leaving but a small passage for it, between the edge of the plate and the back of the chimney. It is particularly described, and its uses explained, in my former printed letter, and I mention it here only as another instance of the tractability of smoke \*.

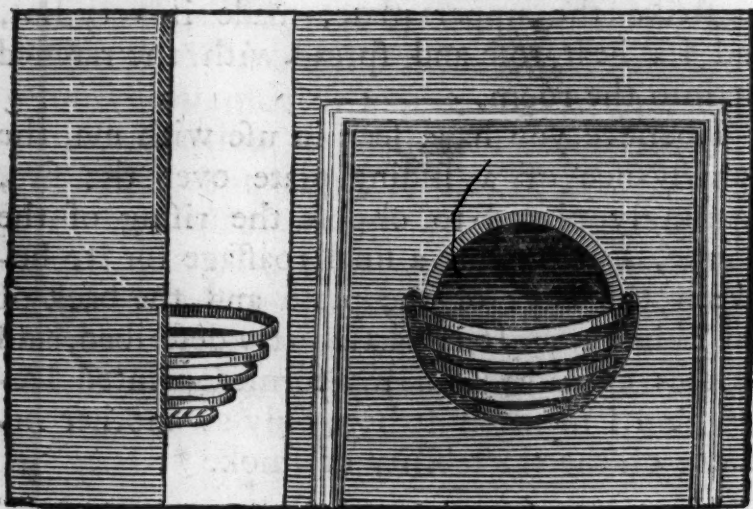
\* See Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> II.

What is called the Staffordshire chimney, affords an example of the same kind. The opening of the chimney is bricked up, even with the fore-edge of its jams, leaving open only a passage over the grate of the same width, and perhaps eight inches high. The grate consists of semicircular bars, their upper bar of the greatest diameter, the others under it smaller and smaller, so that it has the appearance of half a round basket. It is, with the coals it contains, wholly without the wall that shuts up the chimney, yet the smoke bends and enters the passage above it, the draught being strong, because no air can enter that is not obliged to pass near or through the fire, so that all that the funnel is filled with is much heated, and of course much rarefied.

## STAFFORDSHIRE FIRE-PLACE.

SIDE VIEW.

FRONT VIEW.



Much

Much more of the prosperity of a winter country depends on the plenty and cheapness of fuel, than is generally imagined. In travelling I have observed, that in those parts where the inhabitants can have neither wood, nor coal, nor turf, but at excessive prices, the working people live in miserable hovels, are ragged, and have nothing comfortable about them. But where fuel is cheap (or where they have the art of managing it to advantage) they are well furnished with necessaries, and have decent habitations. The obvious reason is, that the working hours of such people are the profitable hours, and they who cannot afford sufficient fuel, have fewer such hours in the twenty-four than those who have it cheap and plenty : for much of the domestic work of poor women, such as spinning, sewing, knitting ; and of the men, in those manufactures that require little bodily exercise, cannot well be performed where the fingers are numbed with cold : those people, therefore, in cold weather, are induced to go to bed sooner, and lie longer in a morning, than they would do if they could have good fires or warm stoves to sit by ; and their hours of work are not sufficient to produce the means of comfortable subsistence. Those public works, therefore, such as roads, canals, &c. by which fuel may be brought cheap into such countries from distant places, are of great utility ; and those

38      LETTER CONCERNING, &c.

who promote them may be reckoned among the benefactors of mankind.

I have great pleasure in having thus complied with your request, and in the reflection that the friendship you honour me with, and in which I have ever been so happy, has continued so many years without the smallest interruption. Our distance from each other is now augmented, and nature must soon put an end to the possibility of my continuing our correspondence: but if consciousness and memory remain in a future state, my esteem and respect for you, my dear friend, will be everlasting.

B. F.

APPEN.



# A P P E N D I X.

## NOTES FOR THE LETTER UPON CHIMNEYS.

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### N° I.

**T**HE latest work on architecture that I have seen, is that entitled NUTSHELLS, which appears to be written by a very ingenious man, and contains a table of the proportions of the openings of chimneys; but they relate solely to the proportions he gives his rooms, without the smallest regard to the funnels. And he remarks, respecting those proportions, that they are similar to the harmonic divisions of a monochord \*. He does not indeed lay much stress on this; but it shows that we like the appearance of principles; and where we have not true ones, we have some satisfaction in producing such as are imaginary.

### N° II.

**T**HE description of the sliding plates here promised, and which hath been since brought into use under various names, with

\* " It may be just remarked here, that upon comparing these proportions with those arising from the common divisions of the monochord, it happens that the first answers to unison, and although the second is a discord, the third answers to the third minor, the fourth to the third major, the fifth to the fourth, the sixth to the fifth, and the seventh to the octave." NUTSHELLS, page 85.

some immaterial changes, is contained in a former letter to J. B. Esq. as follows :

*To J. B. Esq. at Boston, in New-England.*

Dear Sir,                      London, Dec. 2, 1758.

I HAVE executed here an easy simple contrivance, that I have long since had in speculation, for keeping rooms warmer in cold weather than they generally are, and with less fire. It is this. The opening of the chimney is contracted, by brick-work faced with marble slabs, to about two feet between the jams, and the breast brought down to within about three feet of the hearth.—An iron frame is placed just under the breast, and extending quite to the back of the chimney, so that a plate of the same metal may slide horizontally backwards and forwards in the grooves on each side of the frame. This plate is just so large as to fill the whole space, and shut the chimney entirely when thrust quite in, which is convenient when there is no fire. Drawing it out, so as to leave a space between its further edge and the back, of about two inches ; this space is sufficient for the smoke to pass ; and so large a part of the funnel being stopt by the rest of the plate, the passage of warm air out of the room, up the chimney, is obstructed and retarded, and by that means much cold air is prevented from coming in through crevices, to supply its place. This effect is made manifest three ways,

ways. First, when the fire burns briskly in cold weather, the howling or whistling noise made by the wind, as it enters the room through the crevices, when the chimney is open as usual, ceases as soon as the plate is slid in to its proper distance. Secondly, opening the door of the room about half an inch, and holding your hand against the opening, near the top of the door, you feel the cold air coming in against your hand, but weakly, if the plate be in. Let another person suddenly draw it out, so as to let the air of the room go up the chimney, with its usual freedom where chimneys are open, and you immediately feel the cold air rushing in strongly. Thirdly, if something be set against the door, just sufficient, when the plate is in, to keep the door nearly shut, by resisting the pressure of the air that would force it open: then, when the plate is drawn out, the door will be forced open by the increased pressure of the outward cold air endeavouring to get in to supply the place of the warm air, that now passes out of the room to go up the chimney. In our common open chimneys, half the fuel is wasted, and its effect lost; the air it has warmed being immediately drawn off. Several of my acquaintance having seen this simple machine in my room, have imitated it at their own houses, and it seems likely to become pretty common. I describe it thus particularly to you, because I think it would be useful in *Boston*, where firing is often dear.

Mentioning

Mentioning chimneys puts me in mind of a property I formerly had occasion to observe in them, which I have not found taken notice of by others ; it is, that in the summer-time, when no fire is made in the chimneys, there is, nevertheless, a regular draught of air through them ; continually passing upwards, from about five or six o'clock in the afternoon, till eight or nine o'clock the next morning, when the current begins to slacken and hesitate a little, for about half an hour, and then sets as strongly down again, which it continues to do till towards five in the afternoon, then slackens and hesitates as before, going sometimes a little up, then a little down, till in about half an hour it gets a steady upward current for the night, which continues till eight or nine the next day ; the hours varying a little as the days lengthen and shorten, and sometimes varying from sudden changes in the weather ; as if, after being long warm, it should begin to grow cool about noon, while the air was coming down the chimney, the current will then change earlier than the usual hour, &c.

This property in chimneys I imagine we might turn to some account, and render improper, for the future, the old saying, *as useless as a chimney in summer*. If the opening of the chimney, from the breast down to the hearth, be closed by a slight moveable frame or two, in the manner of doors, covered with canvas, that will let the air through, but keep out



the flies; and another little frame set within upon the hearth, with hooks on which to hang joints of meat, fowls, &c. wrapt well in wet linen cloths, three or four fold, I am confident that if the linen is kept wet, by sprinkling it once a day, the meat would be so cooled by the evaporation, carried on continually by means of the passing air, that it would keep a week or more in the hottest weather. Butter and milk might likewise be kept cool, in vessels or bottles covered with wet cloths. A shallow tray, or keeler, should be under the frame to receive any water that might drip from the wetted cloths. I think, too, that this property of chimneys might, by means of smoke-jack vanes, be applied to some mechanical purposes, where a small but pretty constant power only is wanted.

If you would have my opinion of the cause of this changing current of air in chimneys, it is, in short, as follows. In summer-time there is generally a great difference in the warmth of the air at mid-day and mid-night, and, of course, a difference of specific gravity in the air, as the more it is warmed the more it is rarefied. The funnel of a chimney being for the most part surrounded by the house, is protected, in a great measure, from the direct action of the sun's rays, and also from the coldness of the night air. It thence preserves a middle temperature between the heat of the day, and the coldness of the night. This  
middle

middle temperature it communicates to the air contained in it. If the state of the outward air be cooler than that in the funnel of the chimney, it will, by being heavier, force it to rise, and go out at the top. What supplies its place from below, being warmed, in its turn, by the warmer funnel, is likewise forced up by the colder and weightier air below, and so the current is continued till the next day, when the sun gradually changes the state of the outward air, makes it first warm as the funnel of the chimney can make it (when the current begins to hesitate) and afterwards warmer. Then the funnel being cooler than the air that comes into it, cools that air, makes it heavier than the outward air, of course it descends; and what succeeds it from above, being cooled in its turn, the descending current continues till towards evening, when it again hesitates and changes its course, from the change of warmth in the outward air, and the nearly remaining same middle temperature in the funnel.

Upon this principle, if a house were built behind *Beacon-hill*, an adit carried from one of the doors into the hill horizontally, till it met with a perpendicular shaft sunk from its top, it seems probable to me, that those who lived in the house, would constantly, in the heat even of the calmest day, have as much cool air passing through the house, as they should chuse; and the same, though reversed in its current, during the stillest night.

I think,

I think, too, this property might be made of use to miners ; as where several shafts or pits are sunk perpendicularly into the earth communicating at bottom by horizontal passages, which is a common case, if a chimney of thirty or forty feet high were built over one of the shafts, or so near the shaft, that the chimney might communicate with the top of the shaft, all air being excluded but what should pass up or down by the shaft, a constant change of air would, by this means, be produced in the passages below, tending to secure the workmen from those damps which so frequently incommode them : for the fresh air would be almost always going down the open shaft to go up the chimney, or down the chimney to go up the shaft. Let me add one observation more, which is, that if that part of the funnel of a chimney, which appears above the roof of a house, be pretty long, and have three of its sides exposed to the heat of the sun successively, viz. when he is in the east, in the south, and in the west, while the north side is sheltered by the building from the cold northerly winds ; such a chimney will often be so heated by the sun, as to continue the draught strongly upwards, through the whole twenty-four hours, and often for many days together. If the outside of such a chimney be painted black, the effect will be still greater, and the current stronger.

## N° III.

**I**T is said the northern Chinese have a method of warming their ground-floors, which is ingenious. Those floors are made of tile a foot square and two inches thick, their corners being supported by bricks set on end, that are a foot long and four inches square; the tiles, too, join into each other, by ridges and hollows along their sides. This forms a hollow under the whole floor, which on one side of the house has an opening into the air, where a fire is made, and it has a funnel rising from the other side to carry off the smoke. The fuel is a sulphureous pitcoal, the smell of which in the room is thus avoided, while the floor, and of course the room, is well warmed. But as the under side of the floor must grow foul with soot, and a thick coat of soot prevents much of the direct application of the hot air to the tiles, I conceive that burning the smoke, by obliging it to descend through red coals, would in this construction be very advantageous, as more heat would be given by the flame than by the smoke, and the floor being thereby kept free from soot, would be more heated with less fire. For this purpose I would propose erecting the funnel close to the grate, so as to have only an iron plate between the fire and the funnel, through which plate the air in the funnel being heated,  
it



it will be sure to draw well, and force the smoke to descend, as in the figure, where A is the funnel or chimney, B the grate on which the fire is placed, C one of the apertures through which the descending smoke is drawn into the channel D of figure 10, along which channel it is conveyed by a circuitous rout, as designated by the arrows, until it arrives at the small aperture E, figure 10, through which it enters the funnel F. G in both figures is the iron plate against which the fire is made, which being heated thereby, will rarefy the air in that part of the funnel, and cause the smoke to ascend rapidly. The flame thus dividing from the grate to the right and left, and turning in passages disposed, as in figure 13, so as that every part of the floor may be visited by it before it enters the funnel F, by the two passages E E, very little of the heat will be lost, and a winter room thus rendered very comfortable.

Plate I.  
Figure 9.

## N° IV.

PAGE 12. *Few can imagine, &c.* It is said the Icelanders have very little fuel, chiefly drift wood that comes upon their coast. To receive more advantage from its heat, they make their doors low, and have a stage round the room above the door, like a gallery, wherein the women can sit and work, the men read or write, &c. The roof being tight, the warm air

is

is confined by it, and kept from rising higher and escaping; and the cold air, which enters the house when the door is opened, cannot rise above the level of the top of the door, because it is heavier than the warm air above the door, and so those in the gallery are not incommoded by it. Some of our too lofty rooms might have a stage so constructed as to make a temporary gallery above, for the winter, to be taken away in summer. Sedentary people would find much comfort there in cold weather.

N<sup>o</sup> V.

**P**AGE 37. *Where they have the art of managing it, &c.* In some houses of the lower people among the northern nations of Europe, and among the poorer sort of Germans in Pennsylvania, I have observed this construction, which appears very advantageous. A is the kitchen with its chimney; B an iron stove in the stove-room. In a corner of the chimney is a hole through the back into the stove, to put in fuel, and another hole above it to let the smoke of the stove come back into the chimney. As soon as the cooking is over, the brands in the kitchen chimney are put through the hole to supply the stove, so that there is seldom more than one fire burning at a time. In the floor over the stove-room is a small trap-door, to let the warm air rise occasionally into the chamber. Thus the whole house

Plate I.  
Fig. 11.

is warmed at little expence of wood, and the stove-room kept constantly warm; so that in the coldest winter nights, they can work late, and find the room still comfortable when they rise to work early. An English farmer in America, who makes great fires in large open chimneys, needs the constant employment of one man to cut and haul wood for supplying them; and the draught of cold air to them is so strong, that the heels of his family are frozen while they are scorching their faces, and the room is never warm, so that little sedentary work can be done by them in winter. The difference in this article alone of œconomy shall, in a course of years, enable the German to buy out the Englishman, and take possession of his plantation.

#### MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

**C**HIMNEYS whose funnels go up in the north wall of a house, and are exposed to the north winds, are not so apt to draw well as those in a south wall; because when rendered cold by those winds, they draw downwards.

Chimneys enclosed in the body of a house are better than those whose funnels are exposed in cold walls.

Chimneys in stacks are apt to draw better than separate funnels, because the funnels that have constant fires in them, warm the others in some degree that have none.

One of the funnels in a house I once occupied

E

pied

pied, had a particular funnel joined to the south side of the stack, so that three of its sides were exposed to the sun in the course of the day, viz.

the east side E during the morning, the south side S in the middle part of the day, and the west side W during the afternoon, while its north side was sheltered by the stack from the cold winds. This funnel, which came from the ground floor, and had a considerable height above the roof, was constantly in a strong drawing state day and night, winter and summer.

Plate I.  
Figure 12.

Blackening of funnels exposed to the sun, would probably make them draw still stronger.

In Paris I saw a fire-place so ingeniously contrived as to serve conveniently two rooms, a bedchamber and a study. The funnel over the fire was round. The fire-place was of cast iron, having an upright back A, and two horizontal semicircular plates B C, the

Plate I.  
Figure 13.

whole so ordered as to turn on the pivots D E. The plate B always stopped that part of the round funnel that was next to the room without fire, while the other half of the funnel over the fire was always open. By this means a servant in the morning could make a fire on the hearth C, then in the study, without disturbing the master by going into his chamber; and the master when he rose, could with a touch of his foot turn the chimney on its pivots, and bring the fire into his chamber, keep it there as long as he wanted it,



and turn it again when he went out into his study. The room which had no fire in it, was also warmed by the heat coming through the back plate, and spreading in the room, as it could not go up the chimney.

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*To His Excellency BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Esq.  
L. L. D. President of the State of Pennsylvania, and of the American Philosophical Society, &c.*

SIR,

Philadelphia, January 12, 1786.

**T**HE subject of smoky chimneys, of which I had the honour of conversing with you at your own house last evening, is of so much importance to every individual, as well as to every private family, that too much light cannot be thrown upon it.

*A smoky house and a scolding wife,  
Are (said to be) two of the greatest ills in life.*

And however difficult it may be to remedy one of those ills, yet any advances we may be able to make towards removing the inconveniences arising from the other, cannot fail to be favourably received by the public. As they are shortly to be favoured with your sentiments on that subject, possibly the following observations, which were in fact occasioned by necessity, and are the result of my own experience, may not be altogether undeserving of notice.

E 2

When

When I left London and went to live in Devonshire, in the latter end of the year 1777, it happened to be my lot to dwell in an old mansion which had been recently modernised, and had undergone a thorough repair. But as in most of the old houses in England, the chimneys, which were perhaps originally built for the purpose of burning wood, though they had been contracted in front, since coal fires came into general use, to the modern size, yet they were still, above, out of sight, extravagantly large. This method of building chimneys may perhaps have answered well enough while it was the custom to sit with the doors and windows open; but when the customs and manners of the people began to be more polished and refined, when building and architecture were improved, and they began to conceive the idea of making their chambers close, warm, and comfortable, these chimneys were found to smoke abominably, for want of a sufficient supply of air. This was exactly the case with the house in which I first lived, near Exeter, and I was under the necessity of trying every expedient I could think of to make it habitable.

The first thing I tried, was that method of contracting the chimneys by means of earthen pots, much in use in England, which are made on purpose, and which are put upon the tops of them; but this method by no means answered. I then thought of contracting them below, but as the method of contracting them  
in

in front to the size of a small coal-fire grate has an unsightly appearance, as it makes a disagreeable blowing like a furnace, and as it is the occasion of consuming a great deal of unnecessary fuel, the heat of which is immediately hurried up the chimney, I rejected this method, and determined to contract them above, a little out of sight. For this purpose I threw an arch across, and also drew them in at the sides. This had some effect, but as this contraction was made rather suddenly, and the smoke, by striking against the corners that were thereby occasioned, was apt to recoil, by which means some part of it was thrown out into the room; I determined to make the contraction more gradually, and therefore run it up at the back, where the depth of the chimney would admit of it, and also shelving or sloping in a conical kind of direction at the sides, as high as a man, standing upright, could conveniently reach, and by this means brought the cavity within the space of about twelve by fourteen or sixteen inches, which I found sufficiently large to admit a boy to go up and down to sweep the chimneys. This method I found to succeed perfectly well, as to curing the chimneys of smoking, and it had this good effect, of making the rooms considerably warmer; and as this experiment succeeded so well, since the only use of a chimney is to convey away the smoke, I determined to carry it still farther, in order to ascertain, with precision, how much



space is absolutely necessary for that purpose, because all the rest that is shut up must be so much gained in warmth. Accordingly I laid a piece of slate across the remaining aperture, removable at pleasure, so as to contract the space above two thirds, leaving about three inches by twelve remaining open; but this space, except when the fire burnt remarkably clear, was scarcely sufficient to carry away the smoke. I therefore enlarged it to half the space, that is, to about six by seven or eight inches, which I found fully sufficient to carry away the smoke from the largest fires.

When I removed into the Bedford Circus in Exeter, though the house was modern, and almost perfectly new, yet the chimneys were large; in consequence of which almost every room of it smoked. My predecessor, who was the first inhabitant, had been at great expence in patent stoves, &c. but without effect; but by adopting the method I have just now described, I not only cured every chimney of smoking, but my house was remarked for being one of the warmest and most comfortable to live in of any in that large and opulent city.

The house I now live in, in Philadelphia, I am told, has always had the character of being both cold and smoky; and I was convinced, as soon as I saw the rooms and examined the chimneys, that it deserved that character; for though the rooms were close, the chimneys were large; and we shall ever find, that if  
our



our chimneys are large, our rooms will be cold, even though they should be tolerably close and tight; because the constant rushing in of the cold air at the cracks and crevices, and also at every opening of the door, will be sufficient to chill the air, as fast as it is heated, or to force the heated air up the chimney; but by contracting the chimneys I have cured it of both these defects. There was one remarkable circumstance attending the contraction of the chimney in the front parlour, which deserves to be attended to; which was, that before I applied the cast iron plate, which I made use of instead of slate, to diminish the space requisite for a chimney-sweeper's boy to go up and down, the suction or draught of air was so great, that it was with difficulty I could shut the door of the room, insomuch that I at first thought it was owing to a tightness of the hinges, which I imagined must be remedied; but upon applying the iron plate, by which the space was diminished one half, the door shut to with the greatest ease. This extraordinary pressure of the air upon the door of the room, or suction of the chimney, I take to be owing in some measure to the unusual height of the house.

Upon the whole, therefore, this fact seems clearly ascertained, viz. That the flue or size of the chimney ought always to be proportioned to the tightness and closeness of the room: some air is undoubtedly necessary to be

admitted into the room in order to carry up the smoke, otherwise, as you justly observed, we might as well expect smoke to arise out of an exhausted receiver; but if the flue is very large, either the room is tight, and the smoke will not ascend, or it is pretty open, and the consequence will be, that the air of your room will be so frequently and so constantly changed, that as fast as it is heated, it will be hurried away, with the smoke, up the chimney, and of course your room will be constantly cold.

One great advantage attending this method of curing smoky chimneys is, that, in the first place, it makes no awkward or unsightly appearance, nothing being to be seen but what is usual to chimneys in common; and, in the second place, that it is attended with very little expence, a few bricks and mortar, with a plate or covering to the aperture, and a little labour, being all that is requisite. But in this new country, where crops of houses may be expected to rise almost as quick as fields of corn, when the principles upon which chimneys should be erected ought to be thoroughly understood, it is to be hoped, that not only this expence, small as it is, but that all the other inconveniences we have been speaking of, will be avoided, by constructing the flues of the chimneys sufficiently small.

From your humble servant,

THOMAS RUSTON.

*Description*

*Description of a new STOVE for burning of  
Pitcoal, and consuming all its Smoke.*

BY DR. B. FRANKLIN.

TOWARDS the end of the last century an ingenious French philosopher, whose name I am sorry I cannot recollect, exhibited an experiment to show that very offensive things might be burnt in the middle of a chamber, such as woollen rags, feathers, &c. without creating the least smoke or smell. The machine in which the experiment was made, if I remember right, was of this form, made of plate iron. Some clear-burning charcoals were put into the opening of the short tube A, and supported there by the grate B. The air, as soon as the tubes grew warm, would ascend in the longer leg C, and go out at D, consequently air must enter at A descending to B. In this course it must be heated by the burning coals through which it passed, and rise more forcibly in the longer tube, in proportion to its degree of heat or rarefaction, and length of that tube. For such a machine is a kind of inverted syphon: and as the greater weight of water in the longer leg of a common syphon, in descending, is accompanied by an ascent of the same fluid in the shorter; so, in this inverted syphon, the greater quantity of levity of air in the longer leg, in rising, is accompanied

Plate II.  
Figure 1.

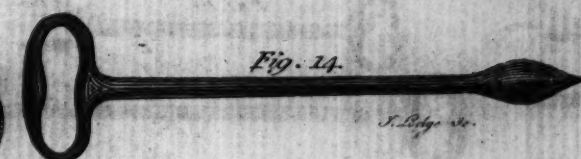
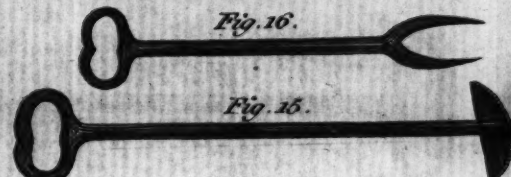
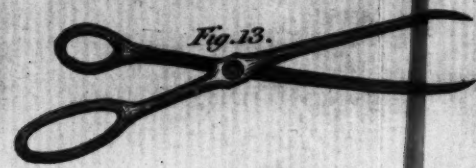
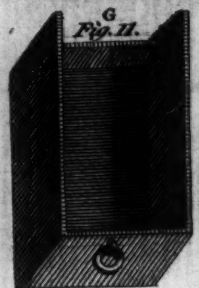
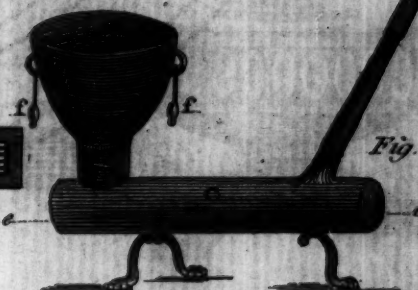
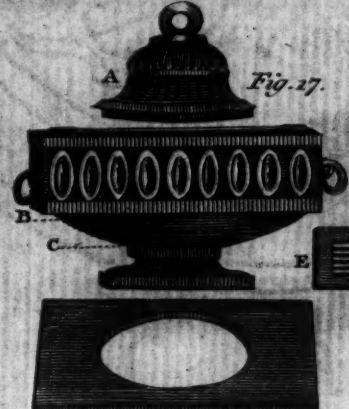
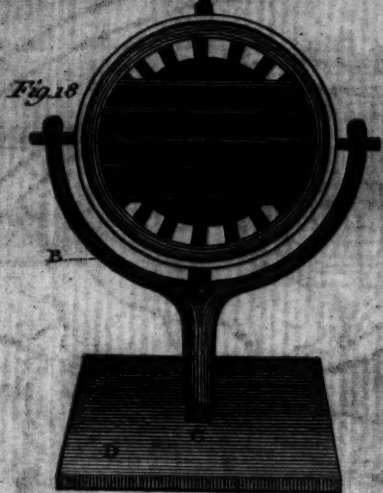
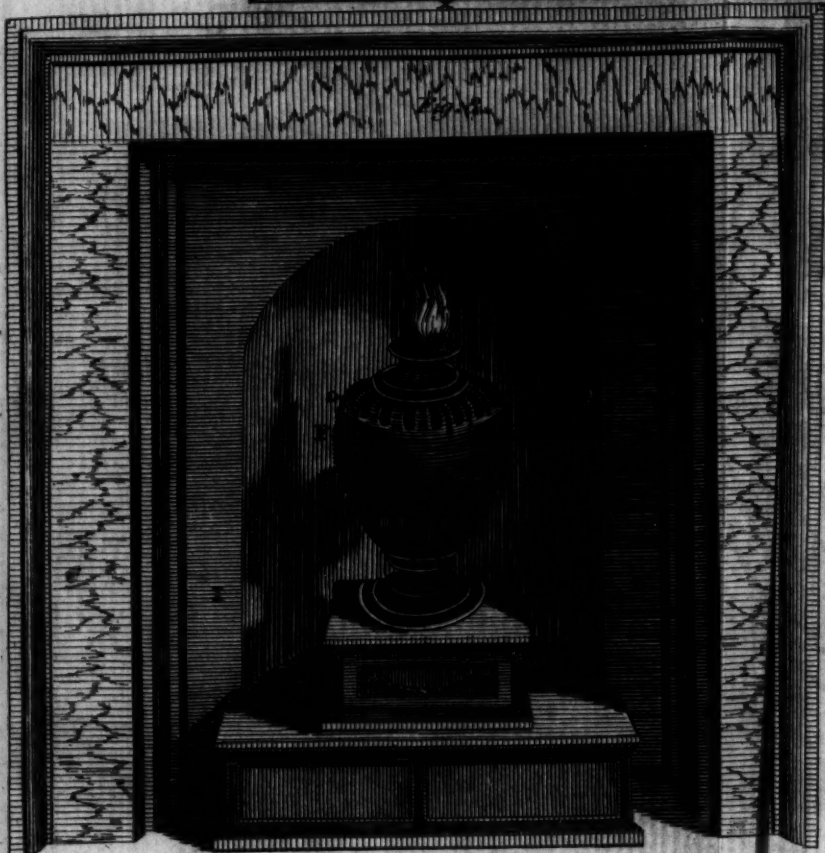
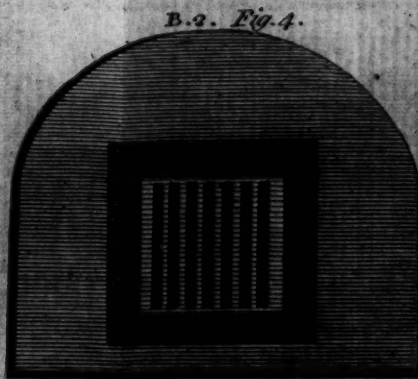
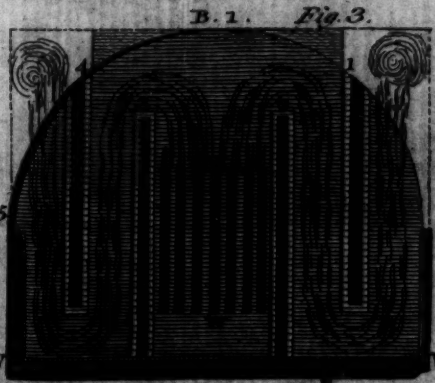
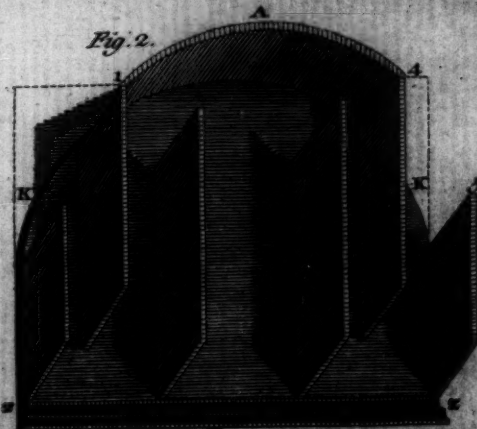
accompanied by the descent of air in the shorter. The things to be burned being laid on the hot coals at A, the smoke must descend through those coals, and be converted into flame, which, after destroying the offensive smell, comes out at the end of the longer tube as mere heated air.

Whoever would repeat this experiment with success, must take care that the part A, B, of the short tube be quite full of burning coals, so that no part of the smoke may descend and pass by them without going through them, and being converted into flame; and that the longer tube be so heated as that the current of ascending hot air is established in it before the things to be burnt are laid on the coals; otherwise there will be a disappointment.

It does not appear, either in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences, or Philosophical Transactions of the English Royal Society, that any improvement was ever made of this ingenious experiment, by applying it to useful purposes. But there is a German book, entitled *Vulcanus Famulans*, by Joh. George Leutmann, P. D. printed at Wirtemberg in 1723, which describes, among a great variety of other stoves for warming rooms, one which seems to have been formed on the same principle, and probably from the hint thereby given, though the French experiment is not mentioned. This book being scarce, I have translated the chapter describing the stove, viz.

“Vulcanus





S. B. & Co.

“ Vulcanus Famulans, by John George Leutmann, P. D. Wirtemberg, 1723.

“ C H A P. VII.

“ On a stove, which draws downwards.

“ Here follows the description of a sort of  
 “ stove, which can easily be removed, and again  
 “ replaced, at pleasure. This drives the fire  
 “ down under itself, and gives no smoke, but  
 “ however a very unwholesome vapour.

“ In the figure, A is an iron vessel like a  
 “ funnel, in diameter at the top about  
 “ twelve inches, at the bottom near the Plate II.  
Figure 20.  
 “ grate about five inches; its height  
 “ twelve inches. This is set on the barrel C,  
 “ which is ten inches diameter and two feet  
 “ long, closed at each end E E. From one  
 “ end rises a pipe or flue about four inches  
 “ diameter, on which other pieces of pipe are  
 “ set, which are gradually contracted to D,  
 “ where the opening is but about two inches.  
 “ Those pipes must together be at least four  
 “ feet high. B is an iron grate. F F are iron  
 “ handles guarded with wood, by which the  
 “ stove is to be lifted and moved. It stands  
 “ on three legs. Care must be taken to stop  
 “ well all the joints, that no smoke may leak  
 “ through.

“ When this stove is to be used, it must first  
 “ be carried into the kitchen, and placed in  
 “ the

“ the chimney near the fire. There burning  
“ wood must be laid and left upon its grate  
“ till the barrel C is warm, and the smoke no  
“ longer rises at A, but descends towards C.  
“ Then it is to be carried into the room which  
“ it is to warm. When once the barrel C is  
“ warm, fresh wood may be thrown into the  
“ vessel A as often as one pleases; the flame  
“ descends and without smoke, which is so  
“ consumed that only a vapour passes out at D.

“ As this vapour is unwholesome, and af-  
“ fects the head, one may be freed from it, by  
“ fixing in the wall of the room an inverted  
“ funnel, such as people use to hang over  
“ lamps, through which their smoke goes out  
“ as through a chimney. This funnel carries  
“ out all the vapour cleverly, so that one finds  
“ no inconvenience from it, even though the  
“ opening D be placed a span below the mouth  
“ of the said funnel G. The neck of the fun-  
“ nel is better when made gradually bending,  
“ than if turned in a right angle.

“ The cause of the draught downwards in  
“ the stove is the pressure of the outward air,  
“ which falling into the vessel A in a column  
“ of twelve inches diameter, finds only a re-  
“ sisting passage at the grate B, of five inches,  
“ and one at D, of two inches, which are much  
“ too weak to drive it back again; besides, A  
“ stands much higher than B, and so the pres-  
“ sure on it is greater and more forcible, and  
“ beats down the flame to that part where it  
“ finds



“ finds the least resistance. Carrying the machine first to the kitchen fire for preparation, is on this account, that in the beginning the fire and smoke naturally ascend, till the air in the close barrel C is made thinner by the warmth. When that vessel is heated, the air in it is rarefied, and then all the smoke and fire descends under it.

“ The wood should be thoroughly dry, and cut into pieces five or six inches long, to fit it for being thrown into the funnel A.” Thus far the German book.

It appears to me by Mr. Leutmann's explanation of the operation of this machine, that he did not understand the principles of it, whence I conclude he was not the inventor of it; and by the description of it, wherein the opening at A is made so large, and the pipe E, D, so short, I am persuaded he never made nor saw the experiment; for the first ought to be much smaller, and the last much higher, or it hardly will succeed. The carrying it in the kitchen, too, every time the fire should happen to be out, must be so troublesome, that it is not likely ever to have been in practice, and probably has never been shown but as a philosophical experiment. The funnel for conveying the vapour out of the room would besides have been uncertain in its operation, as a wind blowing against its mouth would drive the vapour back.

The stove I am about to describe, was also formed on the idea given by the French experiment,



riment, and completely carried into execution before I had any knowledge of the German invention; which I wonder should remain so many years in a country where men are so ingenious in the management of fire, without receiving long since the improvements I have given it.

### DESCRIPTION of the PARTS.

A, the bottom plate, which lies flat upon the hearth, with its partitions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, that are cast with it, and a groove Z Z, in which are to slide the bottom edges of the small plates Y, Y, figure 12; which plates meeting at X close the front.

Plate II.  
Figure 2.

B 1, figure 3, is the cover plate showing its under side, with the grooves 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, to receive the top edges of the partitions that are fixed to the bottom plate. It shows also the grate W W, the bars of which are cast in the plate, and a groove V V, which comes right over the groove Z Z, figure 2, receiving the upper edges of the small sliding plates Y Y, figure 12.

B 2, figure 4, shows the upper side of the same plate, with a square impresson or groove for receiving the bottom mouldings T T T T of the three-sided box C, figure 5, which is cast in one piece.

D, figure 6, its cover, showing its under side with grooves to receive the upper edges S S S of the sides of C, figure 5; also a groove R, R,

R, R, which when the cover is put on come right over another Q Q in C, figure 5, between which it is to slide.

E, figure 7, the front plate of the box.

P, a hole three inches diameter through the cover D, figure 6, over which hole stands the vase F, figure 8, which has a corresponding hole two inches diameter through its bottom.

The top of the vase opens at O, O, O, figure 8, and turns back upon a hinge behind when coals are to be put in; the vase has a grate within at N N of cast iron H, figure 9, and a hole in the top one inch and a half diameter to admit air, and to receive the ornamental brass gilt flame M, figure 10, which stands in that hole, and, being itself hollow and open, suffers air to pass through it to the fire.

G, figure 11, is a drawer of plate iron, that slips in between in the partitions 2 and 3, figure 2, to receive the falling ashes. It is concealed when the small sliding plates Y Y, figure 12, are shut together.

I, I, I, I, figure 8, is a niche built of brick in the chimney and plastered. It closes the chimney over the vase, but leaves two funnels, one in each corner, communicating with the bottom box K K, figure 2.

#### DIMENSIONS of the PARTS.

			Feet.	In.
Front of the bottom box,	-	-	2	0
Height of its partitions,	-	-	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
			Length	

	Feet.	In.
Length of N° 1, 2, 3, and 4, each, -	1	3
Length of N° 5 and 6, each, - -	0	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Breadth of the passage between N° 2 and 3, - - - - -	0	6
Breadth of the other passages, each,	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Breadth of the grate, - - - -	0	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Length of ditto, - - - - -	0	8
Bottom moulding of box C, square,	1	0
Height of the sides of ditto, - -	0	4
Length of the back side, - -	0	10
Length of the right and left sides, each, - - - - -	0	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Length of the front plate E, where longest, - - - - -	0	11
The cover D, square, - - - -	0	12
Hole in ditto, diameter, - - -	0	3
Sliding plates Y Y, their length each, - - - - -	1	0
----- their breadth each, - - - - -	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Drawer G, its length, - - - -	1	0
----- breadth, - - - -	0	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
----- depth, - - - -	0	4
----- depth of its further end, only, - - - - -	0	1
Grate H in the vase, its diameter to the extremity of its knobs, -	0	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Thickness of the bars at top, - -	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
----- at bottom, less, - - - - -	0	0
Depth of the bars at the top, -	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Height	

		Fect.	In.
Height of the vase,	- - - - -	1	6
Diameter of the opening O, O, in			
the clear,	- - - - -	0	8
———— of the air-hole at top,	-	0	1½
———— of the flame-hole at bot-			
tom,	- - - - -	0	2

*To fix this Machine.*

Spread mortar on the hearth to bed the bottom plate A, then lay that plate, level, equally distant from each jamb, and projecting out as far as you think proper. Then putting some Windsor loam in the grooves of the cover B, lay that on: trying the sliding plates Y Y, to see if they move freely in the grooves Z Z, V V, designed for them.

Then begin to build the niche, observing to leave the square corners of the chimney unfilled; for they are to be funnels. And observe also to leave a free open communication between the passages at K K, and the bottom of those funnels, and mind to close the chimney above the top of the niche, that no air may pass up that way. The concave back of the niche will rest on the circular iron partition 1 A 4, figure 2; then with a little loam put on the box C over the grate, the open side of the box in front.

Then, with loam in three of its grooves, the groove R R being left clean, and brought directly over the groove Q Q in the box, put  
F on



on the cover D, trying the front plate E, to see if it slides freely in those grooves.

Lastly, set on the vase, which has small holes in the moulding of its bottom to receive two iron pins that rise out of the plate D at I I, for the better keeping it steady.

Then putting in the grate H, which rests on its three knobs H H H against the inside of the vase, and slipping the drawer into its place; the machine is fit for use.

*To use it.*

Let the first fire be made after eight in the evening, or before eight in the morning, for at those times and between those hours all night, there is usually a draft up a chimney, though it has long been without fire; but between those hours in the day there is often in a cold chimney a draft downwards, when, if you attempt to kindle a fire, the smoke will come into the room.

But to be certain of your proper time, hold a flame over the air-hole at the top. If the flame is drawn strongly down for a continuance, without whiffing, you may begin to kindle a fire.

First put in a few charcoals on the grate H.  
Lay some small sticks on the charcoals,  
Lay some pieces of paper on the sticks,  
Kindle the paper with a candle,

Then shut down the top, and the air will pass down through the air-hole: blow the  
flame

flame of the paper down through the sticks, kindle them, and their flame passing lower, kindles the charcoal.

When the charcoal is well kindled, lay on it the sea-coals, observing not to choak the fire by putting on too much at first.

The flame descending through the hole in the bottom of the vase, and that in plate D into the box C, passes down farther through the grate W W in plate B 1, then passes horizontally towards the back of the chimney; there dividing, and turning to the right and left, one part of it passes round the far end of the partition 2, then coming forward, it turns round the near end of partition 1, then moving backward, it arrives at the opening into the bottom of one of the upright corner funnels behind the niche, through which it ascends into the chimney, thus heating that half of the box and that side of the niche. The other part of the divided flame passes round the far end of partition 3, round the near end of partition 4, and so into and up the other corner funnel, thus heating the other half of the box, and the other side of the niche. The vase itself, and the box C, will also be very hot, and the air surrounding them being heated, and rising, as it cannot get into the chimney, it spreads in the room; colder air succeeding is warmed in its turn, rises and spreads, till by the continual circulation the whole is warmed.

If you should have occasion to make your

first fire at hours not so convenient as those above mentioned, and when the chimney does not draw, do not begin it in the vase, but in one or more of the passages of the lower plate, first covering the mouth of the vase. After the chimney has drawn a while with the fire thus low, and begins to be a little warm, you may close those passages, and kindle another fire in the box C, leaving its sliding shutter a little open; and when you find after some time that the chimney being warmed draws forcibly, you may shut that passage, open your vase, and kindle your fire there, as above directed. The chimney well warmed by the first day's fire will continue to draw constantly all winter, if fires are made daily.

You will, in the management of your fire, have need of the following implements:

A pair of small light tongs, twelve or fifteen inches long, plate II. figure 13.

A light poker about the same length, with a flat broad point, figure 14.

A rake to draw ashes out of the passages of the lower plate, where the lighter kind escaping the ash-box, will gather by degrees; and perhaps once in a week or ten days require being removed, figure 15.

And a fork, with its prongs wide enough to slip on the neck of the vase cover, in order to raise and open it when hot, to put in fresh coals, figure 16.

In the management of this stove there are  
certain

certain precautions to be observed, at first with attention, till they become habitual. To avoid the inconvenience of smoke, see that the grate H be clear before you begin to light a fresh fire. If you find it clogged with cinders and ashes, turn it up with your tongs, and let them fall upon the grate below; the ashes will go through it, and the cinders may be raked off and returned into the vase when you would burn them. Then see that all the sliding plates are in their places and close shut, that no air may enter the stove but through the round opening at the top of the vase. And, to avoid the inconvenience of dust from the ashes, let the ash-drawer be taken out of the room to be emptied; and when you rake the passages, do it when the draft of the air is strong inwards, and put the ashes carefully into the ash-box, that remaining in its place.

If being about to go abroad, you would prevent your fire burning in your absence, you may do it by taking the brass flame from the top of the vase, and covering the passage with a round tin plate, which will prevent the entry of more air than barely sufficient to keep a few of the coals alive. When you return, though some hours absent, by taking off the tin plate, and admitting the air, your fire will soon be recovered.

The effect of this machine, well managed, is to burn not only the coals, but all the smoke of the coals, so that while the fire is burning,



if you go out and observe the top of your chimney, you will see no smoke issuing, nor any thing but clear warm air, which, as usual, makes the bodies seen through it appear waving.

But let none imagine from this, that it may be a cure for bad or smoky chimneys, much less that, as it burns the smoke, it may be used in a room that has no chimney. It is by the help of a good chimney, the higher the better, that it produces its effect; and though a flue of plate iron sufficiently high might be raised in a very lofty room, the management to prevent all disagreeable vapour would be too nice for common practice, and small errors would have unpleasing consequences.

It is certain that clean iron yields no offensive smell when heated. Whatever of that kind you perceive, where there are iron stoves, proceeds therefore from some foulness burning or fuming on their surface. They should therefore never be spit upon, or greased, nor should any dust be suffered to lie upon them. But as the greatest care will not always prevent these things, it is well once a week to wash the stove with soap lees and a brush, rinsing it with clean water.

*The Advantages of this Stove.*

1. The chimney does not grow foul, nor ever need sweeping; for as no smoke enters it, no soot can form in it.

2. The

2. The air heated over common fires instantly quits the room, and goes up the chimney with the smoke; but in the stove, it is obliged to descend in flame, and pass through the long winding horizontal passages, communicating its heat to a body of iron plate, which having thus time to receive the heat, communicates the same to the air of the room, and thereby warms it to a greater degree.

3. The whole of the fuel is consumed by being turned into flame, and you have the benefit of its heat; whereas in common chimneys a great part goes away in smoke, which you see as it rises, but it affords you no rays of warmth. One may obtain some notion of the quantity of fuel thus wasted in smoke, by reflecting on the quantity of soot that a few weeks firing will lodge against the sides of the chimney, and yet this is formed only of those particles of the column of smoke that happen to touch the sides in its ascent. How much more must have passed off in the air? And we know that this soot is still fuel; for it will burn and flame as such, and when hard caked together is indeed very like, and almost as solid as the coal it proceeds from. The destruction of your fuel goes on nearly in the same quantity whether in smoke or in flame: but there is no comparison in the difference of heat given. Observe when fresh coals are first put on your fire, what a body of smoke arises. This smoke is for a long time too cold to take flame. If you then plunge a burning

F 4

candle

candle into it, the candle instead of inflaming the smoke, will instantly be itself extinguished. Smoke must have a certain degree of heat to be inflammable. As soon as it has acquired that degree, the approach of a candle will inflame the whole body, and you will be very sensible of the difference of the heat it gives. A still easier experiment may be made with the candle itself. Hold your hand near the side of its flame, and observe the heat it gives; then blow it out, the hand remaining in the same place, and observe what heat may be given by the smoke that rises from the still burning snuff. You will find it very little. And yet that smoke has in it the substance of so much flame, and will instantly produce it, if you hold another candle above it so as to kindle it. Now the smoke from the fresh coals laid on this stove, instead of ascending and leaving the fire while too cold to burn, being obliged to descend through the burning coals, receives among them that degree of heat which converts it into flame, and the heat of that flame is communicated to the air of the room, as above explained.

4. The flame from the fresh coals laid on in this stove, descending through the coals already ignited, preserves them long from consuming, and continues them in the state of red coals as long as the flame continues that surrounds them; by which means the fires made in this stove are of much longer duration than  
in

in any other, and fewer coals are therefore necessary for a day. This is a very material advantage indeed. That flame should be a kind of pickle, to preserve burning coals from consuming, may seem a paradox to many, and very unlikely to be true, as it appeared to me the first time I observed the fact. I must therefore relate the circumstances, and shall mention an easy experiment, by which my reader may be in possession of every thing necessary to the understanding of it. In the first trial I made of this kind of stove, which was constructed of thin plate iron, I had instead of the vase a kind of inverted pyramid like a mill-hopper; and fearing at first that the small grate contained in it might be clogged by cinders, and the passage of the flame sometimes obstructed, I ordered a little door near the grate, by means of which I might on occasion clear it: though after the stove was made, and before I tried it, I began to think this precaution superfluous, from an imagination, that the flame being contracted in the narrow part where the grate was placed, would be more powerful in consuming what it should there meet with, and that any cinders between or near the bars would be presently destroyed and the passage opened. After the stove was fixed and in action, I had a pleasure now and then in opening that door a little, to see through the crevice how the flame descended among the red coals, and observing once a single coal lodged on the bars in the middle



middle of the focus, a fancy took me to observe by my watch in how short a time it would be consumed. I looked at it long without perceiving it to be at all diminished, which surprised me greatly. At length it occurred to me, that I and many others had seen the same thing thousands of times, in the conservation of the red coal formed in the snuff of a burning candle, which while enveloped in flame, and thereby prevented from the contact of passing air, is long continued, and augments instead of diminishing, so that we are often obliged to remove it by the snuffers, or bend it out of the flame into the air, where it consumes presently to ashes. I then supposed that to consume a body by fire, passing air was necessary to receive and carry off the separated particles of the body; and that the air passing in the flame of my stove, and in the flame of a candle, being already saturated with such particles, could not receive more, and therefore left the coal undiminished as long as the outward air was prevented from coming to it by the surrounding flame, which kept it in a situation somewhat like that of charcoal in a well luted crucible, which, though long kept in a strong fire, comes out unconsumed.

An easy experiment will satisfy any one of this conserving power of flame enveloping red coal. Take a small stick of deal, or other wood, the size of a goose quill, and hold it horizontally and steadily in the flame of the candle  
above

above the wick, without touching it, but in the body of the flame. The wood will first be inflamed, and burn beyond the edge of the flame of the candle, perhaps a quarter of an inch. When the flame of the wood goes out, it will leave a red coal at the end of the stick, part of which will be in the flame of the candle and part out in the air. In a minute or two you will perceive the coal in the air diminish gradually, so as to form a neck; while the part in the flame continues of its first size, and at length the neck being quite consumed it drops off; and by rolling it between your fingers when extinguished, you will find it still a solid coal.

However, as one cannot be always putting on fresh fuel in this stove to furnish a continual flame as is done in a candle, the air in the intervals of time gets at the red coals and consumes them. Yet the conservation, while it lasted, so much delayed the consumption of the coals, that two fires, one made in the morning, and the other in the afternoon, each made by only a hatfull of coals, were sufficient to keep my writing-room, about sixteen feet square and ten high, warm a whole day. The fire kindled at seven in the morning would burn till noon; and all the iron of the machine, with the walls of the niche, being thereby heated, the room kept warm till evening, when another smaller fire kindled kept it warm till midnight.

Instead of the sliding plate E, which shuts  
6 the

the front of the box C, I sometimes used another which had a pane of glass, or, which is better, of Muscovy talc, that the flame might be seen descending from the bottom of the vase, and passing in a column through the box C, into the cavities of the bottom plate, like water falling from a funnel, admirable to such as are not acquainted with the nature of the machine, and in itself a pleasing spectacle.

Every utensil, however properly contrived to serve its purpose, requires some practice before it can be used adroitly. Put into the hands of a man, for the first time, a gimblet or a hammer (very simple instruments) and tell him the use of them, he shall neither bore a hole nor drive a nail with the dexterity or success of another who has been a little accustomed to handle them. The beginner therefore in the use of this machine, will do well not to be discouraged with little accidents that may arise at first from his want of experience. Being somewhat complex, it requires, as already said, a variety of attentions; habit will render them unnecessary: and the studious man who is much in his chamber, and has a pleasure in managing his own fire, will soon find this a machine most comfortable and delightful. To others who leave their fires to the care of ignorant servants, I do not recommend it. They will with difficulty acquire the knowledge necessary, and will make frequent blunders that will fill your room with smoke. It is therefore by no means  
fit

fit for common use in families. It may be adviseable to begin with the flaming kind of stone coal, which is large, and, not caking together, is not so apt to clog the grate. After some experience, any kind of coal may be used, and with this advantage, that no smell, even from the most sulphureous kind, can come into your room, the current of air being constantly into the vase, where too that smell is all consumed.

The vase form was chosen as being elegant in itself, and very proper for burning of coals: where wood is the usual fuel, and must be burnt in pieces of some length, a long square chest may be substituted, in which A is the cover opening by a hing behind, B the grate, C the hearth-box with its divisions as in the other, D the plan of the chest, E the long narrow grate. This I have not tried, but the vase machine was completed in 1771, and used by me in London three winters, and one afterwards in America, much to my satisfaction; and I have not yet thought of any improvement it may be capable of, though such may occur to others. For common use, while in France, I have contrived another grate for coals, which has in part the same property of burning the smoke and preserving the red coals longer by the flame, though not so completely, as in the vase, yet sufficiently to be very useful, which I shall now describe as follows:

Plate 2.  
Figure 17.

A, is a round grate, one foot (French) in diameter,



Plate 2.  
Figure 18.

meter, and eight inches deep between the bars and the back; the sides and back of plate iron; the sides having holes of half an inch diameter, distant 3 or 4 inches from each other, to let in air for enlivening the fire. The back without holes. The sides do not meet at top nor at bottom by eight inches: that square is filled by grates of small bars crossing front to back to let in air below, and let out the smoke or flame above. The three middle bars of the front grate are fixed; the upper and lower may be taken out and put in at pleasure, when hot, with a pair of pincers. This round grate turns upon an axis, supported by the crotchet B, the stem of which is an inverted conical tube five inches deep, which comes on as many inches upon a pin that fits it, and which is fixed upright in a cast iron plate D, that lies upon the hearth; in the middle of the top and bottom grates are fixed small upright pieces E E, about an inch high, which, as the whole is turned on its axis, stop it when the grate is perpendicular. Figure 19 is another view of the same machine.

In making the first fire in a morning with this grate, there is nothing particular to be observed. It is made as in other grates, the coals being put in above, after taking out the upper bar, and replacing it when they are in. The round figure of the fire when thoroughly kindled is agreeable, it represents the great giver of warmth to our system. As it burns down

down and leaves a vacancy above, which you would fill with fresh coals, the upper bar is to be taken out, and afterwards replaced. The fresh coals, while the grate continues in the same position, will throw up, as usual, a body of thick smoke. But every one accustomed to coal fires in common grates, must have observed, that pieces of fresh coal stuck in below among the red coals, have their smoke so heated as that it becomes flame as fast as it is produced, which flame rises among the coals and enlivens the appearance of the fire. Here then is the use of this swivel grate. By a push with your tongs or poker, you turn it on its pin till it faces the back of the chimney, then turn it over on its axis gently till it again faces the room, whereby all the fresh coals will be found under the live coals, and the greater part of the smoke arising from the fresh coals will in its passage through the live ones be heated so as to be converted into flame: whence you have much more heat from them, and your red coals are longer preserved from consuming. I conceive this construction, though not so complete a consumer of all the smoke as the vase, yet to be fitter for common use, and very advantageous. It gives too a full sight of the fire, always a pleasing object, which we have not in the other. It may with a touch be turned more or less from any one of the company that desires to have less of its heat, or presented full to one just come out of the cold. And supported

ported in a horizontal position, a tea-kettle may be boiled on it.

The author's description of his Pennsylvania fire-place, first published in 1744, having fallen into the hands of workmen in Europe, who did not, it seems, well comprehend the principles of that machine, it was much disfigured in their imitations of it; and one of its main intentions, that of admitting a sufficient quantity of fresh air warmed in entering through the air-box, nearly defeated, by a pretended improvement, in lessening its passages to make more room for coals in a grate. On pretence of such improvements, they obtained patents for the invention, and for a while made great profit by the sale, till the public became sensible of that defect, in the expected operation. If the same thing should be attempted with this vase stove, it will be well for the buyer to examine thoroughly such pretended improvements, lest, being the mere productions of ignorance, they diminish or defeat the advantages of the machine, and produce inconvenience and disappointment.

The method of burning smoke, by obliging it to descend through hot coals, may be of great use in heating the walls of a hot-house. In the common way, the horizontal passages or flues that are made to go and return in those walls, lose a great deal of their effect when they come to be foul with soot; for a thick blanket-like lining of soot prevents much of the

the hot air from touching and heating the brick-work in its passage, so that more fire must be made as the flue grows fouler: but by burning the smoke they are kept always clean. The same method may also be of great advantage to those businesses in which large coppers or caldrons are to be heated.

*Written at Sea, 1785.*



## METEOROLOGICAL CONJECTURES, &c.

**T**HERE seems to be a region higher in the air over all countries, where it is always winter, where frost exists continually, since, in the midst of summer on the surface of the earth, ice falls often from above in the form of hail.

Hailstones, of the great weight we sometimes find them, did not probably acquire their magnitude before they began to descend. The air, being eight hundred times rarer than water, is unable to support it but in the shape of vapour, a state in which its particles are separated. As soon as they are condensed by the cold of the upper region, so as to form a drop, that drop begins to fall. If it freezes into a grain of ice, that ice descends. In descending, both the drop of water, and the grain of ice, are augmented by particles of the vapour they pass through in falling, and which they condense by their coldness, and attach to themselves.

It is possible that, in summer, much of what is rain, when it arrives at the surface of the earth, might have been snow, when it began its descent; but being thawed, in passing through the warm air near the surface, it is changed from snow into rain.

How

How immensely cold must be the original particle of hail, which forms the center of the future hailstone, since it is capable of communicating sufficient cold, if I may so speak, to freeze all the mass of vapour condensed round it, and form a lump of perhaps six or eight ounces in weight !

When, in summer time, the sun is high, and continues long every day above the horizon, his rays strike the earth more directly, and with longer continuance, than in the winter ; hence, the surface is more heated, and to a greater depth, by the effect of those rays.

When rain falls on the heated earth, and soaks down into it, it carries down with it a great part of the heat, which by that means descends still deeper.

The mass of earth, to the depth perhaps of thirty feet, being thus heated to a certain degree, continues to retain its heat for some time. Thus the first snows that fall in the beginning of winter, seldom lie long on the surface, but are soon melted, and soon absorbed. After which, the winds that blow over the country on which the snows had fallen, are not rendered so cold as they would have been by those snows, if they had remained. And thus the approach of the severity of winter is retarded ; and the extreme degree of its cold is not always at the time we might expect it, viz. when the sun is at its greatest distance, and the day shortest, but some time after that period,

84 METEOROLOGICAL CONJECTURES, &c.

according to the English proverb, which says, "as the day lengthens, the cold strengthens;" the causes of refrigeration continuing to operate, while the sun returns too slowly, and his force continues too weak to counteract them.

During several of the summer months of the year 1783, when the effect of the sun's rays to heat the earth in these northern regions should have been greatest, there existed a constant fog over all Europe, and great part of North America. This fog was of a permanent nature; it was dry, and the rays of the sun seemed to have little effect towards dissipating it, as they easily do a moist fog, arising from water. They were indeed rendered so faint in passing through it, that when collected in the focus of a burning-glass, they would scarce kindle brown paper. Of course, their summer effect in heating the earth was exceedingly diminished.

Hence the surface was early frozen.

Hence the first snows remained on it unmelted, and received continual additions.

Hence the air was more chilled, and the winds more severely cold.

Hence perhaps the winter of 1783-4 was more severe than any that had happened for many years.

The cause of this universal fog is not yet ascertained. Whether it was adventitious to this earth, and merely a smoke, proceeding from the consumption by fire of some of those great  
burning

burning balls or globes which we happen to meet with in our rapid course round the sun, and which are sometimes seen to kindle and be destroyed in passing our atmosphere, and whose smoke might be attracted and retained by our earth : or whether it was the vast quantity of smoke, long continuing to issue during the summer from *Hecla* in Iceland, and that other volcano which arose out of the sea near that island, which smoke might be spread by various winds over the northern part of the world, is yet uncertain.

It seems however worth the enquiry, whether other hard winters, recorded in history, were preceded by similar permanent and widely extended summer fogs. Because, if found to be so, men might from such fogs conjecture the probability of a succeeding hard winter, and of the damage to be expected by the breaking up of frozen rivers in the spring ; and take such measures as are possible and practicable, to secure themselves and effects from the mischiefs that attended the last.

*Passy, May 1784.*



*Letter to Mr. NAIRNE, of London.*

S I R,

Passy, near Paris, Nov, 13th, 1780.

**T**HE qualities hitherto sought in a hygrometer, or instrument to discover the degrees of moisture and dryness in the air, seem to have been, an aptitude to receive humidity readily from a moist air, and to part with it as readily to a dry air. Different substances have been found to possess more or less of this quality; but when we shall have found the substance that has it in the greatest perfection, there will still remain some uncertainty in the conclusions to be drawn from the degree shown by the instrument, arising from the actual state of the instrument itself as to heat and cold. Thus, if two bottles or vessels of glass or metal being filled, the one with cold and the other with hot water, are brought into a room, the moisture of the air in the room will attach itself in quantities to the surface of the cold vessel, while if you actually wet the surface of the hot vessel, the moisture will immediately quit it, and be absorbed by the same air. And thus in a sudden change of the air from cold to warm, the instrument remaining longer cold may condense and absorb more moisture, and mark the air as having become more humid than it is in reality, and the contrary in a change from warm to cold.

But

But if such a suddenly changing instrument could be freed from these imperfections, yet when the design is to discover the different degrees of humidity in the air of different countries, I apprehend the quick sensibility of the instrument to be rather a disadvantage; since, to draw the desired conclusions from it, a constant and frequent observation day and night in each country will be necessary for a year or years, and the mean of each different set of observations is to be found and determined. After all which some uncertainty will remain respecting the different degrees of exactitude with which different persons may have made and taken notes of their observations.

For these reasons, I apprehend that a substance which, though capable of being distended by moisture and contracted by dryness, is so slow in receiving and parting with its humidity, that the frequent changes in the atmosphere have not time to affect it sensibly, and which therefore should gradually take nearly the medium of all those changes, and preserve it constantly, would be the most proper substance of which to make such an hygrometer.

Such an instrument, you, my dear sir, though without intending it, have made for me; and I, without desiring or expecting it, have received from you. It is therefore with propriety that I address to you the following account of it; and the more, as you have both a head to contrive and a hand to execute the means of

perfecting it. And I do this with greater pleasure, as it affords me the opportunity of renewing that antient correspondence and acquaintance with you, which to me was always so pleasing and so instructive.

You may possibly remember, that in or about the year 1758, you made for me a set of artificial magnets, six in number, each five and a half inches long, half an inch broad, and one eighth of an inch thick. These, with two pieces of soft iron, which together equalled one of the magnets, were inclosed in a little box of mahogany wood, the grain of which ran with, and not across, the length of the box; and the box was closed by a little shutter of the same wood, the grain of which ran across the box; and the ends of this shutting piece were bevelled so as to fit and slide in a kind of dovetail groove when the box was to be shut or opened.

I had been of opinion that good mahogany wood was not affected by moisture so as to change its dimensions, and that it was always to be found as the tools of the workman left it. Indeed the difference at different times in the same country, is so small as to be scarcely in a common way observable. Hence the box which was made so as to allow sufficient room for the magnets to slide out and in freely, and, when in, afforded them so much play, that by shaking the box one could make them strike the opposite sides alternately, continued in the  
same

same state all the time I remained in England, which was four years, without any apparent alteration. I left England in August 1762, and arrived at Philadelphia in October the same year. In a few weeks after my arrival, being desirous of showing your magnets to a philosophical friend, I found them so tight in the box, that it was with difficulty I got them out; and constantly during the two years I remained there, viz. till November 1764, this difficulty of getting them out and in continued. The little shutter too, as wood does not shrink lengthways of the grain, was found too long to enter its grooves, and not being used, was mislaid and lost; and I afterwards had another made that fitted.

In December 1764 I returned to England, and after some time I observed that my box was become full big enough for my magnets, and too wide for my new shutter; which was so much too short for its grooves, that it was apt to fall out; and to make it keep in, I lengthened it by adding to each end a little coat of sealing-wax.

I continued in England more than ten years, and during all that time, after the first change, I perceived no alteration. The magnets had the same freedom in their box, and the little shutter continued with the added sealing-wax to fit its grooves, till some weeks after my second return to America.

As I could not imagine any other cause for  
this



this change of dimensions in the box, when in the different countries, I concluded, first, generally, that the air of England was moister than that of America. And this I supposed an effect of its being an island, where every wind that blew must necessarily pass over some sea before it arrived, and of course lick up some vapour. I afterwards indeed doubted whether it might be just only so far as related to the city of London, where I resided; because there are many causes of moisture in the city air, which do not exist to the same degree in the country; such as the brewers and dyers boiling caldrons, and the great numbers of pots and tea-kettles continually on the fire, sending forth abundance of vapour; and also the number of animals, who by their breath continually increase it; to which may be added, that even the vast quantity of sea coals burnt there do, in kindling, discharge a great deal of moisture.

When I was in England, the last time, you also made for me a little achromatic pocket telescope; the body was brass, and it had a round case (I think of thin wood) covered with shagrin. All the while I remained in England, though possibly there might be some small changes in the dimensions of this case, I neither perceived nor suspected any. There was always comfortable room for the telescope to slip in and out. But soon after I arrived in America, which was in May 1775, the case became too small for the instrument; it was with  
much

much difficulty and various contrivances that I got it out, and I could never after get it in again, during my stay there, which was eighteen months. I brought it with me to Europe, but left the case as useless, imagining that I should find the continental air of France as dry as that of Pennsylvania, where my magnet box had also returned a second time to its narrowness, and pinched the pieces, as heretofore, obliging me too to scrape the sealing-wax off the ends of the shutter.

I had not been long in France, before I was surprised to find, that my box was become as large as it had always been in England, the magnets entered and came out with the same freedom, and, when in, I could rattle them against its sides; this has continued to be the case without sensible variation. My habitation is out of Paris distant almost a league, so that the moist air of the city cannot be supposed to have much effect upon the box. I am on a high dry hill in a free air, as likely to be dry as any air in France. Whence it seems probable that the air of England in general may, as well as that of London, be moister than the air of America, since that of France is so, and in a part so distant from the sea.

The greater dryness of the air in America appears from some other observations. The cabinet work formerly sent us from London, which consisted in thin plates of fine wood glued upon fir, never would stand with us, the

vaneering, as those plates are called, would get loose and come off; both woods shrinking, and their grains often crossing, they were forever cracking and flying. And in my electrical experiments there, it was remarkable, that a mahogany table, on which my jars stood under the prime conductor to be charged, would often be so dry, particularly when the wind had been some time at north-west, which with us is a very drying wind, as to isolate the jars, and prevent their being charged till I had formed a communication between their coatings and the earth. I had a like table in London, which I used for the same purpose all the time I resided there; but it was never so dry as to refuse conducting the electricity.

Now what I would beg leave to recommend to you, is, that you would recollect, if you can, the species of mahogany of which you made my box, for you know there is a good deal of difference in woods that go under that name; or, if that cannot be, that you would take a number of pieces of the closest and finest grained mahogany that you can meet with, plane them to the thinness of about a line, and the width of about two inches across the grain, and fix each of the pieces in some instrument that you can contrive, which will permit them to contract and dilate, and will show, in sensible degrees, by a moveable hand upon a marked scale, the otherwise less sensible quantities of such contraction and dilatation. If

these instruments are all kept in the same place while making, and are graduated together while subject to the same degrees of moisture or dryness, I apprehend you will have so many comparable hygrometers, which being sent into different countries, and continued there for some time, will find and show there the mean of the different dryness and moisture of the air of those countries, and that with much less trouble than by any hygrometer hitherto in use.

With great esteem,

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient,

And most humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

*A Letter*



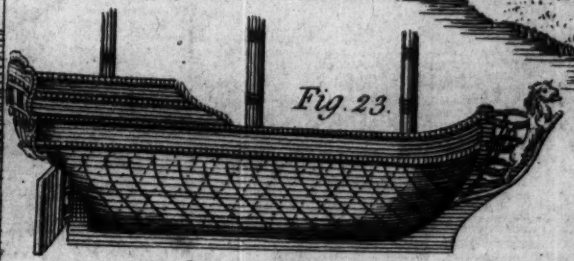
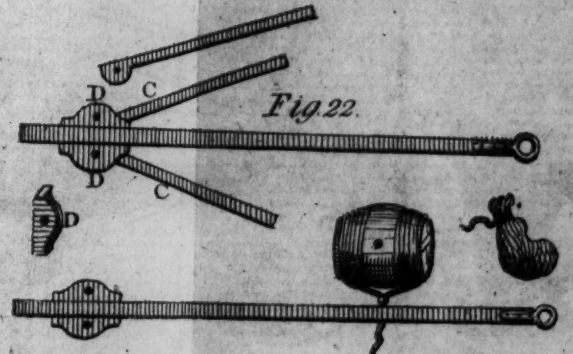
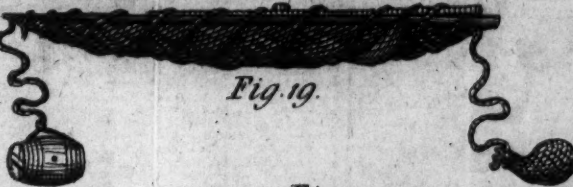
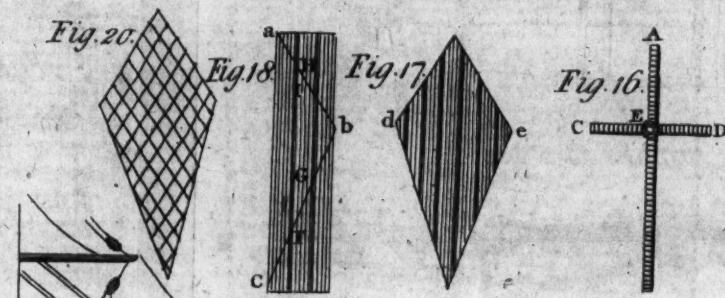
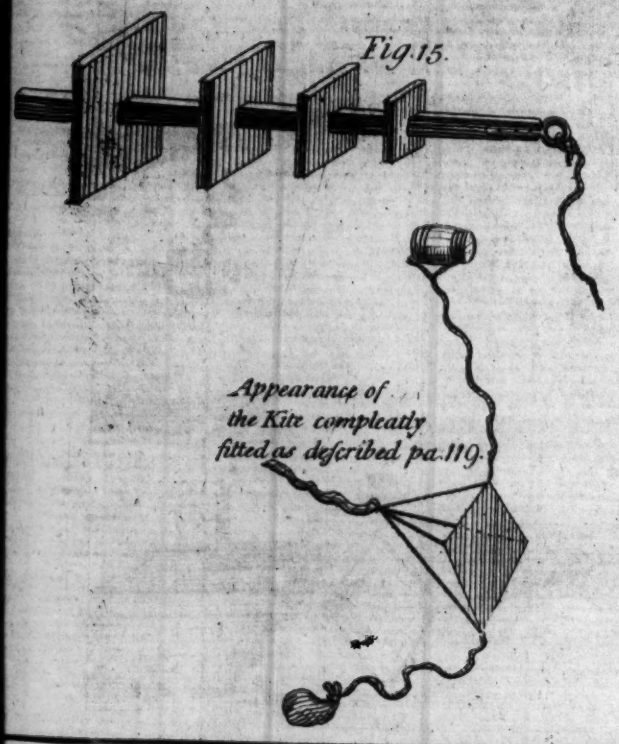
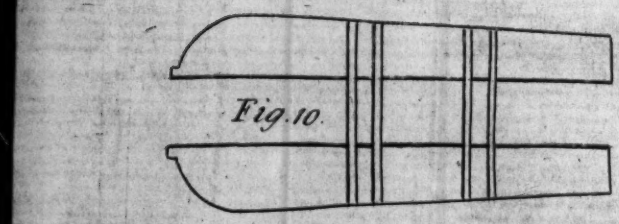
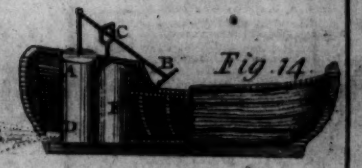
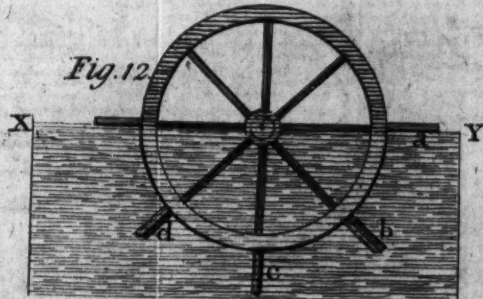
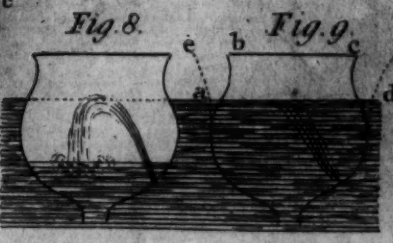
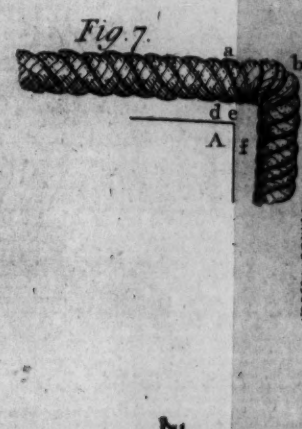
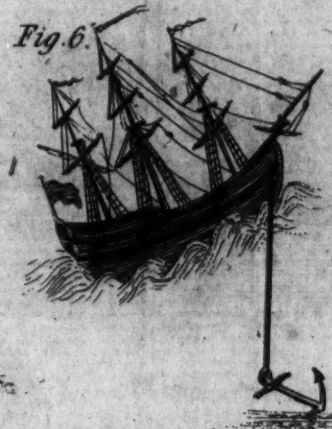
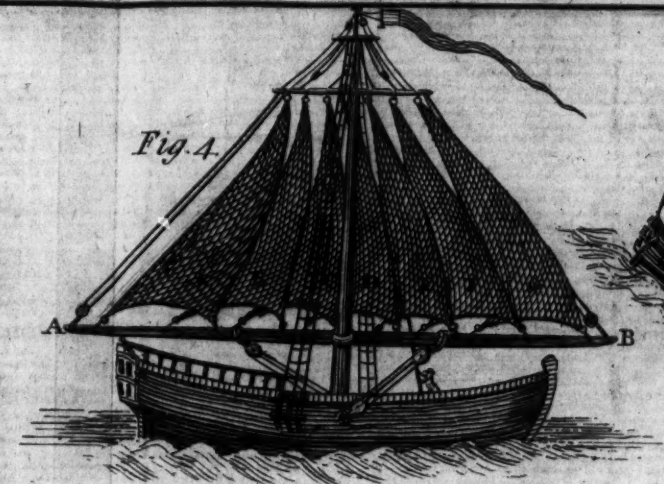
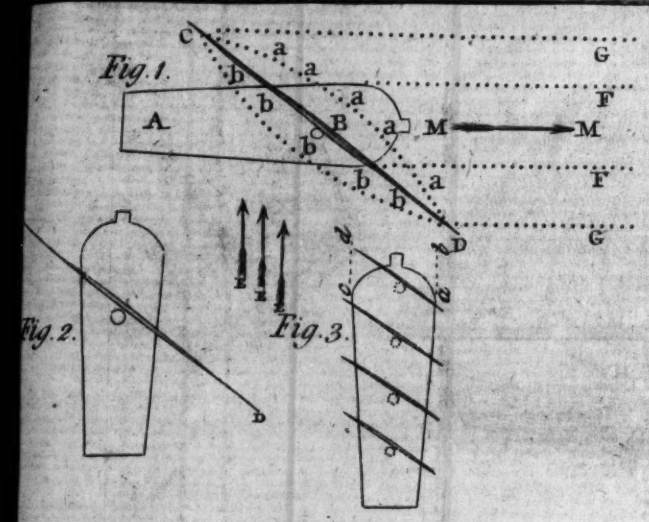
*A Letter from Dr. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, to  
Mr. ALPHONSUS le ROY, Member of several  
Academies, at Paris. Containing sundry Ma-  
ritime Observations.*

At Sea, on board the London Packet,  
Capt. Truxton, August 1785.

S I R,

**Y**OUR learned writings on the navigation of the antients, which contain a great deal of curious information; and your very ingenious contrivances for improving the modern sails (*voilure*) of which I saw with great pleasure a successful trial on the river Seine, have induced me to submit to your consideration and judgment, some thoughts I have had on the latter subject.

Those mathematicians who have endeavoured to improve the swiftness of vessels, by calculating to find the form of least resistance, seem to have considered a ship as a body moving through one fluid only, the water; and to have given little attention to the circumstance of her moving through another fluid, the air. It is true that when a vessel sails right before the wind, this circumstance is of no importance, because the wind goes with her; but in every deviation from that course, the resistance of the air is something, and becomes greater in proportion as that deviation increases. I wave at present the consideration of those different degrees



Appearance of the Kite completely fitted as described pa. 119.



degrees of resistance given by the air to that part of the hull which is above water, and confine myself to that given to the sails; for their motion through the air is resisted by the air, as the motion of the hull through the water is resisted by the water, though with less force, as the air is a lighter fluid. And to simplify the discussion as much as possible, I would state one situation only, to wit, that of the wind upon the beam, the ship's course being directly across the wind; and I would suppose the sail set in an angle of 45 degrees with the keel, as in the following figure; wherein

A B represents the body of the vessel, C D the position of the sail, E E E the direction of the wind, M M the line of motion. In observing this figure it will appear, that so much of the body of the vessel as is immersed in the water must, to go forward, remove out of its way what water it meets with between the pricked lines F F. And the sail, to go forward, must move out of its way all the air its whole dimension meets with between the pricked lines C G and D G. Thus both the fluids give resistance to the motion, each in proportion to the quantity of matter contained in the dimension to be removed. And though the air is vastly lighter than the water, and therefore more easily removed, yet the dimension being much greater, its effect is very considerable.

It is true that in the case stated, the resistance given by the air between those lines to the

Plate IV.  
Figure 1.

the motion of the sail is not apparent to the eye, because the greater force of the wind which strikes it in the direction E E E, overpowers its effect, and keeps the sail full in the curve a, a, a, a, a. But suppose the wind to cease, and the vessel in a calm to be impelled with the same swiftness by oars, the sail would then appear filled in the contrary curve b, b, b, b, b, when prudent men would immediately perceive that the air resisted its motion, and would order it to be taken in.

Is there any possible means of diminishing this resistance, while the same quantity of sail is exposed to the action of the wind, and therefore the same force obtained from it ? I think there is, and that it may be done by dividing the sail into a number of parts, and placing those parts in a line one behind the other ; thus, instead of one sail extending from C to D, figure 2, if four sails, containing together the same quantity of canvas, were placed as in figure 3, each having one quarter of the dimensions of the great sail, and exposing a quarter of its surface to the wind, would give a quarter of the force ; so that the whole force obtained from the wind would be the same, while the resistance from the air would be nearly reduced to the space between the pricked lines *a b* and *c d*, before the foremost sail.

It may perhaps be doubted whether the resistance from the air would be so diminished ; since possibly each of the following small sails having also air before it, which must be removed,



moved, the resistance on the whole would be the same.

This is then a matter to be determined by experiment. I will mention one that I many years since made with success for another purpose; and I will propose another small one easily made. If that too succeeds, I should think it worth while to make a larger, though at some expence, on a river boat; and perhaps time, and the improvements experience will afford, may make it applicable with advantage to larger vessels.

Having near my kitchen chimney a round hole of eight inches diameter, through which was a constant steady current of air, increasing or diminishing only as the fire increased or diminished, I contrived to place my jack so as to receive that current; and taking off the flyers, I fixed in their stead on the same pivot a round tin plate of near the same diameter with the hole; and having cut it in radial lines almost to the centre, so as to have six equal vanes, I gave to each of them the obliquity of forty-five degrees. They moved round, without the weight, by the impression only of the current of air, but too slowly for the purpose of roasting. I suspected that the air struck by the back of each vane might possibly by its resistance retard the motion; and to try this, I cut each of them into two, and I placed the twelve, each having the same obliquity, in a line behind each other, when I perceived a great augmentation

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tation in its velocity, which encouraged me to divide them once more, and, continuing the same obliquity, I placed the twenty-four behind each other in a line, when the force of the wind being the same, and the surface of vane the same, they moved round with much greater rapidity, and perfectly answered my purpose.

The second experiment that I propose, is, to take two playing cards of the same dimensions, and cut one of them transversely into eight equal pieces; then with a needle string them upon two threads, one near each end, and place them so upon the threads that, when hung up, they may be one exactly over the other, at a distance equal to their breadth, each in a horizontal position; and let a small weight, such as a bird-shot, be hung under them, to make them fall in a straight line when let loose. Suspend also the whole card by threads from its four corners, and hang to it an equal weight, so as to draw it downwards when let fall, its whole breadth pressing against the air. Let those two bodies be attached, one of them to one end of a thread a yard long, the other to the other end. Extend a twine under the ceiling of a room, and put through it, at thirty inches distance, two pins bent in the form of fish-hooks. On these two hooks hang the two bodies, the thread that connects them extending parallel to the twine, which thread being cut, they must begin to fall at the same instant. If they take equal time in falling to the floor, it is a proof  
that

that the resistance of the air is in both cases equal. If the whole card requires a longer time, it shows that the sum of the resistances to the pieces of the cut card is not equal to the resistance of the whole one \*.

This principle so far confirmed, I would proceed to make a larger experiment, with a shallop, which I would rig in this manner.

A B is a long boom, from which are hoisted seven jibs, a, b, c, d, e, f, g, each a seventh part of the whole dimensions, and as much more as will fill the whole space when set in an angle of forty-five degrees, so that they may lap when going before the wind, and hold more wind when going large. Thus rigged, when going right before the wind, the boom should be brought at right angles with the keel, by means of the sheet ropes C D, and all the sails hauled flat to the boom.

Plate IV.  
Figure 4.

These positions of boom and sails to be varied as the wind quarters. But when the wind is on the beam, or when you would turn to windward, the boom is to be hauled right fore and aft, and the sails trimmed according as the wind is more or less against your course.

It seems to me that the management of a shallop so rigged would be very easy, the sails being run up and down separately, so that more or less sail may be made at pleasure, and I ima-

\* The motion of the vessel made it inconvenient to try this simple experiment, at sea, when the proposal of it was written. But it has been tried since we came on shore, and succeeded as the other.



gine, that there being full as much sail exposed to the force of the wind which impels the vessel in its course, as if the whole were in one piece, and the resistance of the dead air against the fore-side of the sail being diminished, the advantage of swiftness would be very considerable; besides that the vessel would lie nearer the wind.

Since we are on the subject of improvements in navigation, permit me to detain you a little longer with a small relative observation. Being, in one of my voyages, with ten merchant-ships under convoy of a frigate at anchor in Torbay, waiting for a wind to go to the westward; it came fair, but brought in with it a considerable swell. A signal was given for weighing, and we put to sea all together; but three of the ships left their anchors, their cables parting just as the anchors came a-peak. Our cable held, and we got up our anchor; but the shocks the ship felt before the anchor got loose from the ground, made me reflect on what might possibly have caused the breaking of the other cables; and I imagined it might be the short bending of the cable, just without the hause-hole, from a horizontal to an almost vertical position, and the sudden violent jerk it receives by the rising of the head of the ship on the swell of a wave while in that position. For example, suppose a vessel hove up so as to have her head nearly over her anchor, which still keeps its hold, perhaps in a tough bottom;



tom; if it were calm, the cable still out would form nearly a perpendicular line, measuring the distance between the hause-hole and the anchor; but if there is a swell, her head in the trough of the sea will fall below the level, and when lifted on the wave will be as much above it. In the first case the cable will hang loose, and bend perhaps as in figure 5. In the second case, figure 6, the cable will be drawn straight with a jerk, must sustain the whole force of the rising ship, and must either loosen the anchor, resist the rising force of the ship, or break. But why does it break at the hause-hole?

Let us suppose it a cable of three inches diameter, and represented by figure 7. If this cable is to be bent round the corner A, it is evident that either the part of the triangle contained between the letters a, b, c, must stretch considerably, and those most that are nearest the surface; or that the parts between d, e, f, must be compressed; or both, which most probably happens. In this case the lower half of the thickness affords no strength against the jerk, it not being strained; the upper half bears the whole; and the yarns near the upper surface being first and most strained, break first, and the next yarns follow; for in this bent situation they cannot bear the strain all together, and each contribute its strength to the whole, as they do when the cable is strained in a straight line.

To remedy this, methinks it would be well to have a kind of large pulley wheel, fixed in the hause-hole, suppose of two feet diameter, over which the cable might pass; and being there bent gradually to the round of the wheel, would thereby be more equally strained, and better able to bear the jerk, which may save the anchor, and by that means, in the course of the voyage, may happen to save the ship.

One maritime observation more shall finish this letter. I have been a reader of news-papers now near seventy years, and I think few years pass without an account of some vessel met with at sea, with no soul living on board, and so many feet of water in her hold, which vessel has nevertheless been saved and brought into port: and when not met with at sea, such forsaken vessels have often come ashore on some coast. The crews who have taken to their boats, and thus abandoned such vessels, are sometimes met with and taken up at sea by other ships, sometimes reach a coast, and are sometimes never heard of. Those that give an account of quitting their vessels, generally say, that she sprung a leak, that they pumped for some time, that the water continued to rise upon them, and that, despairing to save her, they had quitted her, lest they should go down with her. It seems by the event that this fear was not always well founded, and I have endeavoured to guess at the reason of the people's too hasty discouragement.

When a vessel springs a leak near her bottom, the water enters with all the force given by the weight of the column of water without, which force is in proportion to the difference of level between the water without and that within. It enters therefore with more force at first, and in greater quantity, than it can afterwards when the water within is higher. The bottom of the vessel too is narrower, so that the same quantity of water coming into that narrow part, rises faster than when the space for it to flow in is larger. This helps to terrify. But as the quantity entering is less and less as the surfaces without and within become more nearly equal in height, the pumps that could not keep the water from rising at first, might afterwards be able to prevent its rising higher, and the people might have remained on board in safety, without hazarding themselves in an open boat on the wide ocean. (Fig. 8.)

Besides the greater equality in the height of the two surfaces, there may sometimes be other causes that retard the farther sinking of a leaky vessel. The rising water within may arrive at quantities of light wooden work, empty chests, and particularly empty water-casks, which, if fixed so as not to float themselves, may help to sustain her. Many bodies which compose a ship's cargo may be specifically lighter than water; all these, when out of water, are an additional weight to that of the ship, and she is



in proportion pressed deeper into the water ; but as soon as these bodies are immerfed, they weigh no longer on the ship, but on the contrary, if fixed, they help to support her, in proportion as they are specifically lighter than the water. And it should be remembered, that the largest body of a ship may be so balanced in the water, that an ounce less or more of weight may leave her at the surface, or sink her to the bottom. There are also certain heavy cargoes, that, when the water gets at them, are continually dissolving, and thereby lightening the vessel, such as salt and sugar. And as to water-casks, mentioned above, since the quantity of them must be great in ships of war where the number of men consume a great deal of water every day, if it had been made a constant rule to bung them up as fast as they were emptied, and to dispose the empty casks in proper situations, I am persuaded that many ships which have been sunk in engagements, or have gone down afterwards, might, with the unhappy people, have been saved ; as well as many of those which in the last war foundered, and were never heard of. While on this topic of sinking, one cannot help recollecting the well-known practice of the Chinese, to divide the hold of a great ship into a number of separate chambers, by partitions tight caulked (of which you gave a model in your boat upon the Seine) so that if a leak should spring in one of them, the others are not affected by it ; and though that  
chamber



chamber should fill to a level with the sea, it would not be sufficient to sink the vessel. We have not imitated this practice. Some little disadvantage it might occasion in the stowage is perhaps one reason, though that I think might be more than compensated by an abatement in the insurance that would be reasonable, and by a higher price taken of passengers, who would rather prefer going in such a vessel. But our seafaring people are brave, despise danger, and reject such precautions of safety, being cowards only in one sense, that of *fearing to be thought afraid*.

I promised to finish my letter with the last observation, but the garrulity of the old man has got hold of me, and as I may never have another occasion of writing on this subject, I think I may as well now, once for all, empty my nautical budget, and give you all the thoughts that have, in my various long voyages, occurred to me relating to navigation. I am sure that in you they will meet with a candid judge, who will excuse my mistakes on account of my good intention.

There are six accidents that may occasion the loss of ships at sea. We have considered one of them, that of foundering by a leak. The other five are, 1. Oversetting by sudden flaws of wind, or by carrying sail beyond the bearing. 2. Fire, by accident or carelessness. 3. A heavy stroke of lightning, making a breach in the ship, or firing the powder. 4. Meeting and shock-  
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ing with other ships in the night. 5. Meeting in the night with islands of ice.

To that of oversetting, privateers in their first cruize have, as far as has fallen within my knowledge or information, been more subject than any other kind of vessels. The double desire of being able to overtake a weaker flying enemy, or to escape when pursued by a stronger, has induced the owners to overmast their cruisers, and to spread too much canvas; and the great number of men, many of them not seamen, who being upon deck when a ship heels, suddenly are huddled down to leeward, and increase by their weight the effect of the wind. This therefore should be more attended to and guarded against, especially as the advantage of lofty masts is problematical: for the upper sails have greater power to lay a vessel more on her side, which is not the most advantageous position for going swiftly through the water. And hence it is that vessels which have lost their lofty masts, and been able to make little more sail afterwards than permitted the ship to sail upon an even keel, have made so much way, even under jury masts, as to surprize the mariners themselves. But there is besides, something in the modern form of our ships that seems as if calculated expressly to allow their oversetting more easily. The sides of a ship, instead of spreading out as they formerly did in the upper works, are of late years turned in, so as to make the body nearly round,

round, and more resembling a cask. I do not know what the advantages of this construction are, except that such ships are not so easily boarded. To me it seems a contrivance to have less room in a ship at nearly the same expence. For it is evident that the same timber and plank consumed in raising the sides from a to b, and from d to c, would have raised them from a to e, and from d to f, fig. 9. In this form all the spaces between e, a, b, and c, d, f, would have been gained; the deck would have been larger; the men would have had more room to act, and not have stood so thick in the way of the enemy's shot; and the vessel, the more she was laid down on her side, the more bearing she would meet with, and more effectual to support her, as being farther from the center. Whereas in the present form, her ballast makes the chief part of her bearing, without which she would turn in the sea almost as easily as a barrel. More ballast by this means becomes necessary, and that sinking a vessel deeper in the water, occasions more resistance to her going through it. The Bermudian sloops still keep with advantage to the old spreading form. The islanders in the great Pacific ocean, though they have no large ships, are the most expert boat-sailors in the world, navigating that sea safely with their proas, which they prevent oversetting by various means. Their sailing proas for this purpose have outriggers generally to windward, above the water, on which  
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one or more men are placed, to move occasionally further from or nearer to the vessel as the wind freshens or slackens. But some have their outriggers to leeward, which resting on the water, support the boat so as to keep her upright when pressed down by the wind. Their boats, moved by oars, or rather by paddles, are, for long voyages, fixed two together by cross bars of wood, that keep them at some distance from each other, and so render their oversetting next to impossible. How far this may be practicable in larger vessels, we have not yet sufficient experience. I know of but one trial made in Europe, which was about one hundred years since, by Sir William Petty. He built a double vessel, to serve as a packet-boat between England and Ireland. Her model still exists in the museum of the Royal Society, where I have seen it. By the accounts we have of her, she answered well the purpose of her construction, making several voyages; and though wrecked at last by a storm, the misfortune did not appear owing to her particular construction, since many other vessels of the common form were wrecked at the same time. The advantage of such a vessel is, that she needs no ballast, therefore swims either lighter or will carry more goods; and that passengers are not so much incommoded by her rolling: to which may be added, that if she is to defend herself by her cannon, they will probably have more effect, being kept more generally in a horizontal



zontal position, than those in common vessels. I think however that it would be an improvement of that model, to make the sides which are opposed to each other perfectly parallel, though the other sides are formed as in common thus, figure 10.

The building of a double ship would indeed be more expensive in proportion to her burthen; and that perhaps is sufficient to discourage the method.

The accident of fire is generally well guarded against by the prudent captain's strict orders against smoking between decks, or carrying a candle there out of a lanthorn. But there is one dangerous practice which frequent terrible accidents have not yet been sufficient to abolish; that of carrying store-spirits to sea in casks. Two large ships, *Seraphis* and the *Duke of Athol*, one an East-Indiaman, the other a frigate, have been burnt within these two last years, and many lives miserably destroyed, by drawing spirits out of a cask near a candle. It is high time to make it a general rule, that all the ship's store of spirits should be carried in bottles.

The misfortune by a stroke of lightning I have in my former writings endeavoured to show a method of guarding against, by a chain and pointed rod, extending, when run up, from above the top of the mast to the sea. These instruments are now made and sold at a reasonable price by *Nairne and Co.* in London, and there are several instances of success attending the  
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the use of them. They are kept in a box, and may be run up and fixed in about five minutes, on the apparent approach of a thunder-gust.

Of the meeting and shocking with other ships in the night, I have known two instances in voyages between London and America. In one both ships arrived though much damaged, each reporting their belief that the other must have gone to the bottom. In the other, only one got to port; the other was never afterwards heard of. These instances happened many years ago, when the commerce between Europe and America was not a tenth part of what it is at present, ships of course thinner scattered, and the chance of meeting proportionably less. It has long been the practice to keep a *look-out before* in the channel, but at sea it has been neglected. If it is not at present thought worth while to take that precaution, it will in time become of more consequence; since the number of ships at sea is continually augmenting. A drum frequently beat, or a bell rung in a dark night, might help to prevent such accidents.

Islands of ice are frequently seen off the banks of Newfoundland, by ships going between North-America and Europe. In the day-time they are easily avoided, unless in a very thick fog. I remember two instances of ships running against them in the night. The first lost her bowsprit, but received little other damage. The other struck where the warmth of the sea had wasted the ice next to it, and a part hung over above. This perhaps saved her, for she was under great way;

way; but the upper part of the cliff taking her fore-topmast, broke the shock, though it carried away the mast. She disengaged herself with some difficulty, and got safe into port; but the accident shows the possibility of other ships being wrecked and sunk by striking those vast masses of ice, of which I have seen one that we judged to be seventy feet high above the water, consequently eight times as much under water; and it is another reason for keeping a good *look-out before*, though far from any coast that may threaten danger.

It is remarkable that the people we consider as savages, have improved the art of sailing- and rowing-boats in several points beyond what we can pretend to. We have no sailing-boats equal to the flying proas of the South Seas, no rowing or paddling boat equal to that of the Greenlanders for swiftness and safety. The birch canoes of the North-American Indians have also some advantageous properties. They are so light, that two men may carry one of them over land, which is capable of carrying a dozen upon the water; and in heeling they are not so subject to take in water as our boats, the sides of which are lowest in the middle, where it is most likely to enter, this being highest in that part, as in figure 11.

The Chinese are an enlightened people, the most anciently civilized of any existing, and their arts are ancient, a presumption in their favour: their method of rowing their boats differs



fers from ours, the oars being worked either two a-stern as we scull, or on the sides with the same kind of motion, being hung parallel to the keel on a rail, and always acting in the water, not perpendicular to the side as ours are, nor lifted out at every stroke, which is a loss of time, and the boat in the interval loses motion. They see our manner, and we theirs, but neither are disposed to learn of or copy the other.

To the several means of moving boats, mentioned above, may be added the singular one lately exhibited at Javelle, on the Seine below Paris, where a clumsy boat was moved across that river in three minutes by rowing, not in the water, but in the air, that is, by whirling round a set of windmill vanes fixed to a horizontal axis, parallel to the keel, and placed at the head of the boat. The axis was bent into an elbow at the end, by the help of which it was turned by one man at a time. I saw the operation at a distance. The four vanes appeared to be about five feet long, and perhaps two and a half wide. The weather was calm. The labour appeared to be great for one man, as the two several times relieved each other. But the action upon the air by the oblique surfaces of the vanes must have been considerable, as the motion of the boat appeared tolerably quick going and returning; and she returned to the same place from whence she first set out, notwithstanding the current. This machine is  
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since applied to the moving of air balloons : an instrument similar may be contrived to move a boat by turning under water.

Several mechanical projectors have at different times proposed to give motion to boats, and even to ships, by means of circular rowing, or paddles placed on the circumference of wheels to be turned constantly on each side of the vessel ; but this method, though frequently tried, has never been found so effectual as to encourage a continuance of the practice. I do not know that the reason has hitherto been given. Perhaps it may be this, that great part of the force employed contributes little to the motion. For instance, (fig. 12.) of the four paddles a, b, c, d, all under water, and turning to move a boat from X to Y, c has the most power, b nearly, though not quite so much, their motion being nearly horizontal ; but the force employed in moving a, is consumed in pressing almost downright upon the water till it comes to the place of b ; and the force employed in moving d is consumed in lifting the water till d arrives at the surface ; by which means much of the labour is lost. It is true, that by placing the wheels higher out of the water, this waste labour will be diminished in a calm, but where a sea runs, the wheels must unavoidably be often dipt deep in the waves, and the turning of them thereby rendered very laborious to little purpose.

Among the various means of giving motion

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to a boat, that of M. Bernoulli appears one of the most singular, which was, to have fixed in the boat a tube in the form of an L, the upright part to have a funnel-kind of opening at top, convenient for filling the tube with water; which descending and passing through the lower horizontal part, and issuing in the middle of the stern, but under the surface of the river, should push the boat forward. There is no doubt that the force of the descending water would have a considerable effect, greater in proportion to the height from which it descended; but then it is to be considered, that every bucket-full pumped or dipped up into the boat, from its side or through its bottom, must have its *vis inertiae* overcome so as to receive the motion of the boat, before it can come to give motion by its descent; and that will be a deduction from the moving power. To remedy this, I would propose the addition of another such L pipe, and that they should stand back to back in the boat thus, figure 13; the forward one being worked as a pump, and sucking in the water at the head of the boat, would draw it forward while pushed in the same direction by the force at the stern. And after all, it should be calculated whether the labour of pumping would be less than that of rowing. A fire-engine might possibly in some cases be applied in this operation with advantage.

Perhaps this labour of raising water might be spread, and the whole force of a man applied to



to the moving of a boat by the use of air instead of water. Suppose the boat constructed in this form, figure 14: A a tube, round or square, of two feet diameter, in which a piston may move up and down. The piston to have valves in it, opening inwards, to admit air when the piston rises; and shutting, when it is forced down by means of the lever B turning on the center C. The tube to have a valve D, to open when the piston is forced down, and let the air pass out at E, which striking forcibly against the water abaft, must push the boat forward. If there is added an air-vessel F, properly valved and placed, the force would continue to act while a fresh stroke is taken with the lever. The boatman might stand with his back to the stern, and putting his hands behind him, work the motion by taking hold of the cross bar at B, while another should steer; or, if he had two such pumps, one on each side of the stern, with a lever for each hand, he might steer himself by working occasionally more or harder with either hand, as watermen now do with a pair of sculls. There is no position in which the body of a man can exert more strength than in pulling right upwards.

To obtain more swiftness, greasing the bottom of a vessel is sometimes used, and with good effect. I do not know that any writer has hitherto attempted to explain this. At first sight one would imagine, that though the friction of a hard body sliding on another hard

body, and the resistance occasioned by that friction, might be diminished by putting grease between them, yet that a body sliding on a fluid, such as water, should have no need of, nor receive any advantage from, such greasing. But the fact is not disputed : and the reason perhaps may be this ; the particles of water have a mutual attraction, called the attraction of adhesion. Water also adheres to wood, and to many other substances, but not to grease : on the contrary, they have a mutual repulsion, so that it is a question whether, when oil is poured on water, they ever actually touch each other ; for a drop of oil upon water, instead of sticking to the spot where it falls, as it would if it fell on a looking-glass, spreads instantly to an immense distance in a film extremely thin, which it could not easily do if it touched and rubbed, or adhered even in a small degree to the surface of the water. Now the adhesive force of water to itself, and to other substances, may be estimated from the weight of it necessary to separate a drop, which adheres, while growing, till it has weight enough to force the separation and break the drop off. Let us suppose the drop to be the size of a pea, then there will be as many of these adhesions as there are drops of that size touching the bottom of a vessel, and these must be broken by the moving power, every step of her motion that amounts to a drop's breadth : and there being no such adhesions to break between

tween the water and a greased bottom, may occasion the difference.

So much respecting the motion of vessels. But we have sometimes occasion to stop their motion; and if a bottom is near enough we can cast anchor. Where there are no foundings, we have as yet no means to prevent driving in a storm, but by lying-to, which still permits driving at the rate of about two miles an hour; so that in a storm, continuing fifty hours, which is not an uncommon case, the ship may drive one hundred miles out of her course; and should she in that distance meet with a lee shore, she may be lost.

To prevent this driving to leeward in deep water, a swimming anchor is wanting, which ought to have these properties.

1. It should have a surface so large, as being at the end of a hauser in the water, and placed perpendicularly, should hold so much of it, as to bring the ship's head to the wind, in which situation the wind has least power to drive her.

2. It should be able by its resistance to prevent the ship's receiving way.

3. It should be capable of being situated below the heave of the sea, but not below the undertow.

4. It should not take up much room in the ship.

5. It should be easily thrown out, and put into its proper situation.



6. It should be easy to take in again, and stow away.

An ingenious old mariner, whom I formerly knew, proposed, as a swimming anchor for a large ship, to have a stem of wood twenty-five feet long and four inches square, with four boards of 18, 16, 14, and 12 feet long, and one foot wide, the boards to have their substance thickened several inches in the middle by additional wood, and to have each a four-inch square hole through its middle, to permit its being slipped on occasionally upon the stem, and at right angles with it; where all being placed and fixed at four feet distance from each other, it would have the appearance of the old mathematical instrument called a forestaff. This thrown into the sea, and held by a hauser veered out to some length, he conceived would bring a vessel up, and prevent her driving, and when taken in might be stowed away by separating the boards from the stem. Figure 15. Probably such a swimming anchor would have some good effect; but it is subject to this objection, that lying on the surface of the sea, it is liable to be hove forward by every wave, and thereby give so much leave for the ship to drive.

Two machines for this purpose have occurred to me, which though not so simple as the above, I imagine would be more effectual, and more easily manageable. I will endeavour to describe them, that they may be submitted to your judgment, whether either would be serviceable;

able; and if they would, to which we should give the preference.

The first is to be formed, and to be used in the water on almost the same principles with those of a paper kite used in the air; only as the paper kite rises in the air, this is to descend in the water. Its dimensions will be different for ships of different size.

To make one of suppose fifteen feet high; take a small spar of that length for the backbone, A B, figure 16; a smaller of half that length C D, for the cross piece. Let these be united by a bolt at E, yet so as that by turning on the bolt they may be laid parallel to each other. Then make a sail of strong canvas, in the shape of figure 17. To form this, without waste of sail-cloth, sew together pieces of the proper length, and for half the breadth, as in figure 18; then cut the whole in the diagonal lines a, b, c, and turn the piece F so as to place its broad part opposite to that of the piece G, and the piece H in like manner opposite to I, which, when all sewed together, will appear as in figure 17. This sail is to be extended on the cross of figure 16, the top and bottom points well secured to the ends of the long spar; the two side points d, e, fastened to the ends of two cords, which coming from the angle of the loop (which must be similar to the loop of a kite) pass through two rings at the ends of the short spar, so as that on pulling upon the loop the sail will be drawn to its extent. The whole

may, when aboard, be furled up, as in figure 19, having a rope from its broad end, to which is tied a bag of ballast for keeping that end downwards when in the water, and at the other end another rope, with an empty keg at its end to float on the surface; this rope long enough to permit the kite's descending into the undertow, or, if you please, lower into still water. It should be held by a hauser. To get it home easily, a small loose rope may be veered out with it, fixed to the keg. Hauling on that rope will bring the kite home with small force, the resistance being small, as it will then come endways.

It seems probable that such a kite at the end of a long hauser would keep a ship with her head to the wind, and resisting every tug, would prevent her driving so fast as when her side is exposed to it, and nothing to hold her back. If only half the driving is prevented, so as that she moves but fifty miles instead of the hundred during a storm, it may be some advantage, both in holding so much distance as is saved, and in keeping from a lee shore. If single canvas should not be found strong enough to bear the tug without splitting, it may be doubled, or strengthened by a netting behind it, represented by figure 20.

The other machine for the same purpose, is to be made more in the form of an umbrella, as represented, figure 21. The stem of the umbrella a square spar of proper length, with four moveable arms, of which two are represented  
C, C,



C, C, figure 22. These arms to be fixed in four joint cleats, as D, D, &c. one on each side of the spar, but so as that the four arms may open by turning on a pin in the joint. When open they form a cross, on which a four-square canvas sail is to be extended, its corners fastened to the ends of the four arms. Those ends are also to be stayed by ropes fastened to the stem or spar, so as to keep them short of being at right angles with it : and to the end of one of the arms should be hung the small bag of ballast, and to the end of the opposite arm the empty keg. This, on being thrown into the sea, would immediately open ; and when it had performed its function, and the storm over, a small rope from its other end being pulled on, would turn it, close it, and draw it easily home to the ship. This machine seems more simple in its operation, and more easily manageable, than the first, and perhaps may be as effectual \*.

Vessels are sometimes retarded, and sometimes forwarded in their voyages, by currents at sea, which are often not perceived. About the year 1769 or 70, there was an application made by the board of customs at Boston, to the lords of the treasury in London, complaining that the packets between Falmouth and New-York were generally a fortnight longer in their

\* Captain Truxton, on board whose ship this was written, has executed this proposed machine: he has given six arms to the umbrella ; they are joined to the stem by iron hinges, and the canvas is double. He has taken it with him to China. February 1786.

passages than merchant ships from London to Rhode-Island, and proposing that for the future they should be ordered to Rhode-Island instead of New-York. Being then concerned in the management of the American post-office, I happened to be consulted on the occasion; and it appearing strange to me that there should be such a difference between two places, scarce a day's run asunder, especially when the merchant ships are generally deeper laden, and more weakly manned than the packets, and had from London the whole length of the river and channel to run before they left the land of England, while the packets had only to go from Falmouth, I could not but think the fact misunderstood or misrepresented. There happened then to be in London a Nantucket sea-captain of my acquaintance, to whom I communicated the affair. He told me he believed the fact might be true; but the difference was owing to this, that the Rhode-Island captains were acquainted with the gulph stream, which those of the English packets were not. We are well acquainted with that stream, says he, because, in our pursuit of whales, which keep near the sides of it, but are not to be met with in it, we run down along the sides, and frequently cross it to change our side; and in crossing it have sometimes met and spoke with those packets, who were in the middle of it, and stemming it. We have informed them that they were stemming a current, that was against them







them to the value of three miles an hour ; and advised them to cross it and get out of it ; but they were too wise to be counselled by simple American fishermen. When the winds are but light, he added, they are carried back by the current more than they are forwarded by the wind : and if the wind be good, the subtraction of 70 miles a day from their course is of some importance. I then observed, that it was a pity no notice was taken of this current upon the charts, and requested him to mark it out for me, which he readily complied with, adding directions for avoiding it in sailing from Europe to North-America. I procured it to be engraved by order from the general post-office, on the old chart of the Atlantic, at Mount and Page's, Tower-hill ; and copies were sent down to Falmouth for the captains of the packets, who slighted it however ; but it is since printed in France, of which edition I hereto annex a copy.

This stream is probably generated by the great accumulation of water on the eastern coast of America between the tropics, by the trade winds which constantly blow there. It is known that a large piece of water, ten miles broad and generally only three feet deep, has by a strong wind had its waters driven to one side, and sustained so as to become six feet deep, while the windward side was laid dry. This may give some idea of the quantity heaped up on the American coast, and the reason of its  
running

running down in a strong current through the islands into the bay of Mexico, and from thence issuing through the gulph of Florida, and proceeding along the coast to the banks of Newfoundland, where it turns off towards and runs down through the Western islands. Having since crossed this stream several times in passing between America and Europe, I have been attentive to sundry circumstances relating to it, by which to know when one is in it; and besides the gulph weed with which it is interspersed, I find that it is always warmer than the sea on each side of it, and that it does not sparkle in the night. I annex hereto the observations made with the thermometer in two voyages, and possibly may add a third: it will appear from them, that the thermometer may be an useful instrument to a navigator, since currents coming from the northward into southern seas, will probably be found colder than the water of those seas, as the currents from southern seas into northern are found warmer. And it is not to be wondered that so vast a body of deep warm water, several leagues wide, coming from between the tropics, and issuing out of the gulph into the northern seas, should retain its warmth longer than the twenty or thirty days required to its passing the banks of Newfoundland. The quantity is too great, and it is too deep to be suddenly cooled by passing under a cooler air. The air immediately over  
it,

it, however, may receive so much warmth from it as to be rarefied and rise, being rendered lighter than the air on each side of the stream ; hence those airs must flow in to supply the place of the rising warm air, and meeting with each other, form those tornados and water-spouts frequently met with, and seen near and over the stream ; and as the vapour from a cup of tea in a warm room, and the breath of an animal in the same room, are hardly visible, but become sensible immediately when out in the cold air, so the vapour from the gulph stream, in warm latitudes, is scarcely visible, but when it comes into the cool air from Newfoundland, it is condensed into the fogs, for which those parts are so remarkable.

The power of wind to raise water above its common level in the sea, is known to us in America, by the high tides occasioned in all our sea-ports when a strong north-easter blows against the gulph stream.

The conclusion from these remarks is, that a vessel from Europe to North-America may shorten her passage by avoiding to stem the stream, in which the thermometer will be very useful ; and a vessel from America to Europe may do the same by the same means of keeping in it. It may have often happened accidentally, that voyages have been shortened by these circumstances. It is well to have the command of them.

I

But



But may there not be another cause, independent of winds and currents, why passages are generally shorter from America to Europe than from Europe to America? This question I formerly considered in the following short paper.

*On board the Pennsylvania Packet, Capt. Osborne, at sea, April 5, 1775.*

“ Suppose a ship to make a voyage eastward from a place in lat.  $40^{\circ}$  north, to place in lat.  $50^{\circ}$  north, distance in longitude 75 degrees.

“ In sailing from 40 to 50, she goes from a place where a degree of longitude is about eight miles greater than in the place she is going to. A degree is equal to four minutes of time; consequently the ship in the harbour she leaves, partaking of the diurnal motion of the earth, moves two miles in a minute faster than when in the port she is going to; which is 120 miles in an hour.

“ This motion in a ship and cargo is of great force; and if she could be lifted up suddenly from the harbour in which she lay quiet, and set down instantly in the latitude of the port she was bound to, though in a calm, that force contained in her would make her run a great way at a prodigious rate. This force must be lost gradually in her voyage, by gradual impulse against the water, and probably thence shorten the voyage. Query, In returning does the

the contrary happen, and is her voyage thereby retarded and lengthened \* ?”

Would it not be a more secure method of planking ships, if, instead of thick single planks laid horizontally, we were to use planks of half the thickness, and lay them double and across each other, as in figure 23? To me it seems that the difference of expence would not be considerable, and that the ship would be both tighter and stronger.

The securing of the ship is not the only necessary thing; securing the health of the sailors, a brave and valuable order of men, is likewise of great importance. With this view the methods so successfully practised by Captain Cook in his long voyages, cannot be too closely studied or carefully imitated. A full account of those methods is found in Sir John Pringle's speech, when the medal of the Royal Society was given to that illustrious navigator. I am glad to see, in his last voyage, that he found the means effectual which I had proposed for preserving flour, bread, &c. from moisture and damage. They were found dry and good after being at sea four years. The method is described in my printed works, page 452, fifth edition. In the same, page 469, 470, is proposed a means of allaying thirst in case of want of fresh water. This has since been practised

\* Since this paper was read at the Society, an ingenious member, Mr. Patterson, has convinced the writer that the returning voyage would not, from this cause, be retarded.

in two instances with success. Happy if their hunger, when the other provisions are consumed, could be relieved as commodiously; and perhaps in time this may be found not impossible. An addition might be made to their present vegetable provision, by drying various roots in slices by the means of an oven. The sweet potatoe of America and Spain is excellent for this purpose. Other potatoes, with carrots, parsnips, and turnips, might be prepared and preserved in the same manner.

With regard to make-shifts in cases of necessity, seamen are generally very ingenious themselves. They will excuse however the mention of two or three. If they happen in any circumstance, such as after shipwreck, taking to their boat, or the like, to want a compass, a fine sewing-needle, laid on clear water in a cup, will generally point to the north, most of them being a little magnetical, or may be made so by being strongly rubbed or hammered, lying in a north and south direction. If their needle is too heavy to float by itself, it may be supported by little pieces of cork or wood. A man who can swim, may be aided in a long traverse by his handkerchief formed into a kite, by two cross sticks extending to the four corners; which being raised in the air, when the wind is fair and fresh, will tow him along while lying on his back. Where force is wanted to move a heavy body, and there are but few hands and no machines, a long and strong



strong rope may make a powerful instrument. Suppose a boat is to be drawn up on a beach, that she may be out of the surf, a stake drove into the beach where you would have the boat drawn, and another to fasten the end of the rope to, which comes from the boat, and then applying what force you have to pull upon the middle of the rope at right angles with it, the power will be augmented in proportion to the length of rope between the posts. The rope being fastened to the stake A, and drawn upon in the direction C D, will slide over the stake B; and when the rope is bent to the angle A D B, represented by the pricked line in figure 24, the boat will be at B.

Some sailors may think the writer has given himself unnecessary trouble in pretending to advise them; for they have a little repugnance to the advice of landmen, whom they esteem ignorant and incapable of giving any worth notice; though it is certain that most of their instruments were the invention of landmen: at least the first vessel ever made to go on the water was certainly such. I will therefore add only a few words more, and they shall be addressed to passengers.

When you intend a long voyage, you may do well to keep your intention as much as possible a secret, or at least the time of your departure; otherwise you will be continually interrupted in your preparations by the visits of friends and acquaintance, who will not only rob you

K

of

of the time you want, but put things out of your mind, so that when you come to sea, you have the mortification to recollect points of business that ought to have been done, accounts you had intended to settle, and conveniencies you had proposed to bring with you, &c. &c. all which have been omitted through the effect of these officious friendly visits. Would it not be well if this custom could be changed; if the voyager, after having, without interruption, made all his preparations, should use some of the time he has left, in going himself to take leave of his friends at their own houses, and let them come to congratulate him on his happy return?

It is not always in your power to make a choice in your captain, though much of your comfort in the passage may depend on his personal character, as you must for so long a time be confined to his company, and under his direction; if he be a sensible, sociable, good-natured, obliging man, you will be so much the happier. Such there are; but if he happens to be otherwise, and is only skilful, careful, watchful, and active in the conduct of his ship, excuse the rest, for these are the essentials.

Whatever right you may have by agreement in the mass of stores laid in by him for the passengers, it is good to have some particular things in your own possession, so as to be always at your own command.

1. Good water, that of the ship being often bad.

bad. You can be sure of having it good only by bottling it from a clear spring or well, and in clean bottles. 2. Good tea. 3. Coffee ground. 4. Chocolate. 5. Wine of the sort you particularly like, and cyder. 6. Raisins. 7. Almonds. 8. Sugar. 9. Capillaire. 10. Lemons. 11. Jamaica spirits. 12. Eggs greas'd. 13. Diet-bread. 14. Portable soup. 15. Rusks. As to fowls, it is not worth while to have any called yours, unless you could have the feeding and managing of them, according to your own judgment, under your own eye. As they are generally treated at present in ships, they are for the most part sick, and their flesh tough and hard as whit-leather. All seamen have an opinion, broached I supposed at first prudently, for saving of water when short, that fowls do not know when they have drank enough, and will kill themselves if you give them too much, so they are served with a little only once in two days. This is poured into troughs that lie sloping, and therefore immediately runs down to the lower end. There the fowls ride upon one another's backs to get at it, and some are not happy enough to reach and once dip their bills in it. Thus tantalized, and tormented with thirst, they cannot digest their dry food, they fret, pine, sicken, and die. Some are found dead, and thrown overboard every morning, and those killed for the table are not eatable. Their troughs should be in little divisions like cups, to hold the water separately, figure 25. But this



is never done. The sheep and hogs are therefore your best dependance for fresh meat at sea, the mutton being generally tolerable, and the pork excellent.

It is possible your captain may have provided so well in the general stores, as to render some of the particulars above recommended of little or no use to you. But there are frequently in the ship poorer passengers, who are taken at a lower price, lodge in the steerage, and have no claim to any of the cabin provisions, or to any but those kinds that are allowed the sailors. These people are sometimes dejected, sometimes sick; there may be women and children among them. In a situation where there is no going to market to purchase such necessaries, a few of these your superfluities, distributed occasionally, may be of great service, restore health, save life, make the miserable happy, and thereby afford you infinite pleasure.

The worst thing in ordinary merchant ships is the cookery. They have no professed cook, and the worst hand as a seaman is appointed to that office, in which he is not only very ignorant but very dirty. The sailors have therefore a saying, that *God sends meat and the devil cooks*. Passengers more piously disposed, and willing to believe Heaven orders all things for the best, may suppose, that knowing the sea-air and constant exercise by the motion of the vessel would give us extraordinary appetites, bad cooks were  
kindly

kindly sent to prevent our eating too much; or that, foreseeing we should have bad cooks, good appetites were furnished to prevent our starving. If you cannot trust to these circumstances, a spirit-lamp, with a blaze-pan, may enable you to cook some little things for yourself; such as a hash, a soup, &c. And it might be well also to have among your stores some potted meats, which, if well put up, will keep long good. A small tin-oven, to place with the open side before the fire, may be another good utensil, in which your own servant may roast for you a bit of pork or mutton. You will sometimes be induced to eat of the ship's salt beef, as it is often good. You will find cyder the best quencher of that thirst which salt meat or fish occasions. The ship biscuit is too hard for some sets of teeth. It may be softened by toasting. But rusk is better; for being made of good fermented bread, sliced and baked a second time, the pieces imbibe the water easily, soften immediately, digest more kindly, and are therefore more wholesome than the unfermented biscuit. By the way, rusk is the true original biscuit, so prepared to keep for sea, \*biscuit in French signifying twice baked. If your dry peas boil hard, a two-pound iron shot put with them into the pot will, by the motion of the ship, grind them as fine as mustard.

The accidents I have seen at sea with large dishes of soup upon a table, from the motion of the ship, have made me wish that our pot-

ters or pewterers would make soup-dishes in divisions, like a set of small bowls united together, each containing about sufficient for one person, in some such form as fig. 26 ; for then, when the ship should make a sudden heel, the soup would not in a body flow over one side, and fall into people's laps and scald them, as is sometimes the case, but would be retained in the separate divisions, as in figure 27.

After these trifles, permit the addition of a few general reflections. Navigation, when employed in supplying necessary provisions to a country in want, and thereby preventing famines, which were more frequent and destructive before the invention of that art, is undoubtedly a blessing to mankind. When employed merely in transporting superfluities, it is a question whether the advantage of the employment it affords is equal to the mischief of hazarding so many lives on the ocean ; but when employed in pillaging merchants and transporting slaves, it is clearly the means of augmenting the mass of human misery. It is amazing to think of the ships and lives risked in fetching tea from China, coffee from Arabia, sugar and tobacco from America, all which our ancestors did well without. Sugar employs near one thousand ships, tobacco almost as many. For the utility of tobacco there is little to be said ; and for that of sugar, how much more commendable would it be if we could give up the few minutes gratification afforded  
once



once or twice a day by the taste of sugar in our tea, rather than encourage the cruelties exercised in producing it. An eminent French moralist says, that when he considers the wars we excite in Africa to obtain slaves, the numbers necessarily slain in those wars, the many prisoners who perish at sea by sickness, bad provisions, foul air, &c. &c. in the transportation, and how many afterwards die from the hardships of slavery, he cannot look on a piece of sugar without conceiving it stained with spots of human blood ! Had he added the consideration of the wars we make to take and retake the sugar islands from one another, and the fleets and armies that perish in those expeditions, he might have seen his sugar not merely spotted, but thoroughly dyed scarlet in grain. It is these wars that make the maritime powers of Europe, the inhabitants of London and Paris, pay dearer for sugar than those of Vienna, a thousand miles from the sea ; because their sugar costs not only the price they pay for it by the pound, but all they pay in taxes to maintain the fleets and armies that fight for it.

With great esteem, I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Observations of the warmth of the sea-water, &c: by Fahrenheit's thermometer, in crossing the Gulph stream; with other remarks made on board the Pennsylvania packet, Captain Osborne, bound from London to Philadelphia, in April and May 1775.

Date.	Hour.	Temp. of Air.	Temp. of Water.	Wind.	Course.	Distance.	Latitude N.	Longitude W.	Remarks.
April 10			62						
11			61						
12			64						
13			65						
14			65						
26			70						
27			70	SSE	WbS	—	37° 39'	60° 38'	Much gulph weed; saw a whale.
28	8 A. M.	60	64	SW	WNW	—	37° 13'	62° 29'	Colour of water changed.
—	6 P. M.	67	60		W	34	37° 48'	64° 35'	No gulph weed.
29	8 A. M.	63	71	N		44	37° 26'	66° 0'	Sounded, no bottom.
—	5 P. M.	65	72	NE	WbS	57	—	—	Much light in the water last night.
—	11 dit.	66	66	NE	WbN	69	—	—	Water again of the usual deep sea colour, little or no light in it at night.
30	8 A. M.	64	70	NE	WbS	24	37° 20'	68° 53'	Frequent gulph weed, water continues of sea colour, little light.
—	6 P. M.	64	72	ESE	WbN	43	—	—	Much light.
—	10 dit.	65	65	S	WbN	25	—	—	Much light all last night.
May 1	7 A. M.	68	63			60	—	—	Colour of water changed.
—	12	65	56	SSW	WNW	44	38° 13'	72° 23'	
—	4 P. M.	64	56		WbN	21	—	—	
—	10 dit.	64	57	SW	WNW	31	—	—	
2	8 A. M.	62	53	WSW	NW	18	38° 43'	74° 3'	Much light.
—	12	60	53	NW	WSW	15	—	—	Much light. Thunder-gust.
—	6 P. M.	64	55	NW	WSW	10	—	—	
—	10 dit.	65	55	NbW	WbN	10	—	—	
3	7 A. M.	62	54			30	38° 30'	75° 0'	

Observations

Observations of the warmth of the sea-water, &c. by Fahrenheit's thermometer; with other remarks made on board the Reprisal, Captain Wycks, bound from Philadelphia to France, in October and November 1776.

Date.	Hour A. M.	Hour P. M.	Temp. of Air.	Temp. of Water.	Wind.	Course.	Distance.	Latitude N.	Longitude W.	Remarks.
Oct. 31	10	—	76	70	SSE	E b S	135	38 12	70 30	Left the capes Thursday night, October 29, 1776.
Nov. 1	10	4	—	71	WSW	E ½ N	109	No ob.	68 12	
2	8	4	71	75	N	—	141	Ditto	65 23	Some sparks in the water these two last nights.
3	12	4	67	76	NW	ESE ½ E E b S	160	37 0	62 7	
4	9	4	70	76	—	N b E	194	36 26	58 8	Ditto.
5	8	4	68	76	—	NE	163	35 21	55 3	Ditto.
6	12	8	75	76	E b N	S 50 E	75	35 33	53 52	
7	12	8	77	78	SE b E	N 30 W	108	36 6	52 46	
8	9	4	75	77	S b E	N 49 E	175	38 2	50 1	
9	12	4	75	77	SW	N 33 E	175	39 39	46 55	

Observations



## Observations made on board the Reprifal, continued.

Date.	Hour A. M.	Hour P. M.	Temp. of Air.	Temp. of Water.	Wind.	Course.	Distance.	Latitude N.	Longitude W.	Remarks.
Novem. 9	8	4	70	71	E	N 17 E	64	40 39	46 27	
10	12	—	—	64	SE	N 8 E	41	41 19	46 19	
11	8	—	—	63	—	—	—	—	—	
12	12	—	56	59	NNW	N 80 E	120	41 39	43 42	
13	all day	4	—	68	E	S 82 E	69	41 29	42 10	
14	8	—	70	70	ESE	N 74 E	111	42 0	39 57	
15	—	Noon	—	72	—	—	—	—	—	
16	—	4	61	71	WSW	N 70 E	186	43 3	35 51	
17	—	Noon	—	69	SW	N 67 W	48	43 22	34 50	
18	—	4	65	67	ESE	N 19 E	56	44 15	34 25	
19	all day	—	—	63	SbW	N 75 E	210	45 6	29 43	Some gulph weed
20	8	Noon	65	64	SW	N 80 E	238	45 46	24 2	
21	—	4	—	62	N	S 80 E	155	45 19	20 30	
22	9	—	—	60	S	N 88 E	94	45 22	18 17	
23	10	Noon	60	62	SSW	S 80 E	133	45 19	15 19	
24	—	do.	—	61	WSW	S 86 E	194	45 10	35	
25	—	do.	—	60	NNE	N 78 E	191	45 46	6 10	
26	—	do.	—	60	NE	S 76 E	125	45 4	3 23	
27	—	do.	56	60	E	N 73 E	31	45 13	2 20	Soundings off Bellisle.
28	—	do.	54	58	—	—	—	—	—	

MARITIME OBSERVATIONS. 139

N. B. Longitude is reckoned from London, and the Thermometer is according to Fahrenheit.												
Dates.	Latit. N.	Long. W.	Therm. A. M.		Therm. P. M.		Winds.	Courfc.	Distance.	Variation of the Needle.	Therm. Noon.	
			Air.	Water.	Air.	Water.					A	W.
July 29	—	—	62	57	63	58						
30	—	—	62	58	62	62						
31	—	—	60	58	60	64						
August 1	49 15	4 15	63	64	64	63						
2	48 28	8 58	64	67	omitted.	66	East	SW $\frac{1}{2}$ W	60	West.		
3	47 0	12 13	66	66	do.	68	ESE	Wb S $\frac{1}{2}$ S	174	22° 0'		
4	45 5	15 43	67	65	65	68	NE	SWb W	160			
5	43 3	17 25	70	68	71	69	NE	SW $\frac{1}{2}$ S	190			
6	41 3	19 44	70	70	68	70	NE	SW $\frac{1}{2}$ W	131	0		
7	38 45	21 34	72	71	73	72	NE	SSW $\frac{1}{2}$ W	166	16 30		
8	36 42	23 10	73	73	77	75	NE	SSW $\frac{1}{2}$ W	165	11 30		
9	35 40	25 40	71	73	77	77	NE	WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ S	149	11 15		
10	35 0	27 0	74	74	76	77	NW	WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ W	137			
11	33 51	28 42	74	74	76	77	North	SW $\frac{1}{2}$ W	76			
12	33 30	31 30	76	75	76	76	North	W $\frac{1}{2}$ S	112			
13	33 17	33 32	76	76	78	77	NE	W $\frac{1}{2}$ S	143			
14	33 22	34 31	76	76	81	79	SSE	W $\frac{1}{2}$ N	103			
15	33 45	35 0	78	79	79	78	WNW	SW $\frac{1}{2}$ W	50			
16	34 14	35 30	79	78	81	80	WNW	NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ N	35			
17	35 37	36 4	80	79	80	78	West	NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ N	38			
18	36 7	37 16	80	78	omitted.	78	WSW	NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ N	75			
19	36 38	38 0	78	77	78	77	NWb W	NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ N	65			
20	37 38	38 6	78	76	omitted.	77	WSW	NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ W	49			
							West	NN $\frac{1}{2}$ W	62			

140 MARITIME OBSERVATIONS.

1785. A Journal of a Voyage from the Channel, &c. continued.

N. B. Longitude is reckoned from London, and the Thermometer is according to Fahrenheit.									
Dates.	Lat. N.	Long. W.	Therm. A. M.		Therm. P. M.		Winds.	Course.	Distance. Miles.
			Air.	Water.	Air.	Water.			
August 21	36 15	38 26	73	74	78	76	WNW	SbW	82
22	35 40	38 44	77	76	80	77	WbS	SSW	38
23	35 35	40 52	79	77	78	75	North	W $\frac{1}{2}$ S	100
24	35 12	41 31	75	73	75	74	WNW	WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ N	41
25	35 40	42 33	79	76	79	76	WbN	WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ N	60
26	35 30	42 44	79	76	80	76	SWbW	SW $\frac{1}{2}$ S	14
27	35 14	43 23	79	77	81	79	West	SWW $\frac{1}{2}$ S	38
28	34 23	44 0	78	76	78	78	NNE	SWbS	60
29	34 12	45 52	77	78	78	78	NE	W $\frac{1}{2}$ S	94
30	34 5	48 31	78	78	78	78	East	W $\frac{1}{2}$ S	134
31	34 20	51 4	80	79	81	79	East	W $\frac{1}{2}$ S	129
Septem. 1	34 20	52 47	81	78	omitted.		SSW	W $\frac{1}{2}$ N	86
2	34 55	55 12	81	80	80	80	SW	WbN $\frac{1}{2}$ W	125
3	35 30	57 24	83	80	83	80	SWbS	WbN $\frac{1}{2}$ N	114
4	35 50	59 1	82	80	83	80	SW $\frac{1}{2}$ W	WbN $\frac{1}{2}$ N	82
5	35 55	61 0	81	80	82	81	SSW	W $\frac{1}{2}$ N	96
6	36 20	62 30	80	81	79	80	NWbN	WbN	75
7	34 50	63 10	87	80	78	81	NWbW	SSW	86
8	34 45	64 40	75	79	75	79	North	W $\frac{1}{2}$ S	74
9	35 43	66 42	75	79	77	73	ENE	WNW	108
10	37 20	68 40	77	73	77	70		NW	126
<div> <div>Therm. Noon.</div> <div> <div>77</div> <div>75</div> <div>77</div> <div>omitted.</div> <div>74</div> <div>76</div> <div>76</div> <div>78</div> <div>78</div> <div>78</div> <div>78</div> <div>78</div> <div>80</div> <div>80</div> <div>81</div> <div>81</div> <div>81</div> <div>80</div> <div>81</div> <div>78</div> <div>78</div> <div>75</div> <div>78</div> <div>72</div> </div> </div>									
<div> <div>Variation of the Needle.</div> <div> <div>West.</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>8</div> <div>0</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> <div>—</div> </div> </div>									



## OBSERVATIONS.

July 31. At one P. M. the Start bore W N W. distant six leagues.

August 1. The water appears luminous in the ship's wake.

— 2. The temperature of the water is taken at eight in the morning and at eight in the evening.

— 6. The water appears less luminous.

— 7. Formegas S W. dist.  $32\frac{1}{2}$  deg. St. Mary's SW  $\frac{1}{2}$  S 33 leagues.

— 8. From this date the temperature of the water is taken at eight in the morning, and at six in the evening.

— 10. Moonlight, which prevents the luminous appearance of the water.

— 11. A strong southerly current.

— 12. Ditto. From this date the temperature of the air and water was taken at noon, as well as morning and evening.

— 16. Northerly current.

— 19. First saw gulph weed.

— 21. Southerly current.

— 22. Again saw gulph weed.

— 24. The water appeared luminous in a small degree, before the moon rose.

— 29. No moon, yet very little light in the water.

— 30. Much gulph weed to-day.

— 31. Ditto.

Sept. 1. Ditto.

— 2. A little more light in the water.

— 4. No gulph weed to-day. More light in the water.

— 5. Some gulph weed again.

— 6. Little light in the water. A very hard thunder-gust in the night.

— 7. Little gulph weed.

— 8. More light in the water. Little gulph weed.

— 9. Little gulph weed. Little light in the water last evening.

— 10. Saw some beds of rock-weed; and we were surprised to observe the water six degrees colder by the thermometer than the preceding noon.

This day (10th) the thermometer still kept descending, and at five in the morning of the 11th, it was in water as low as 70, when we struck soundings. The same evening the pilot came on board, and we found our ship about five degrees of longitude a-head of the reckoning, which our captain accounted for by supposing our course to have been near the edge of the gulph stream, and thus an eddy-current always in our favour. By the distance we ran from Sept. 9, in the evening, till we struck soundings, we must have then been at the western edge of the gulph stream, and the change in the temperature of the water was probably owing to our suddenly passing from that current into the waters of our own climate.

On the 14th of August the following experiment was made. The weather being perfectly calm, an empty bottle, corked very tight, was sent down 20 fathoms, and it was drawn up still empty. It was then sent down again 35 fathoms, when the weight of the water having forced in the cork, it was drawn up full; the water it contained was immediately tried by the thermometer, and found to be 70, which was six degrees colder than at the surface: The lead and bottle were visible, but not very distinctly so, at the depth of 12 fathoms; but when only 7 fathoms deep, they were perfectly seen from the ship. This experiment was thus repeated September 11, when we were in soundings of 18 fathoms. A keg was previously prepared with a valve at each end, one opening inward, the other outward: this was sent to the bottom, in expectation that by the valves being both open when going down,

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down, and both shut when coming up, it would keep within it the water received at bottom. The upper valve performed its office well, but the under one did not shut quite close, so that much of the water was lost in hauling it up the ship's side. As the water in the keg's passage upwards could not enter at the top, it was concluded that what water remained in it was of that near the ground; and on trying this by the thermometer, it was found to be at 58, which was 12 degrees colder than at the surface.

*This last Journal was obligingly kept for me by Mr. J. Williams, my fellow-passenger in the London Packet, who made all the experiments with great exactness.*

INFORMATION

I N F O R M A T I O N  
T O  
T H O S E   W H O   W O U L D   R E M O V E  
T O  
A M E R I C A.

**M**ANY persons in Europe having, directly or by letters, expressed to the writer of this, who is well acquainted with North-America, their desire of transporting and establishing themselves in that country; but who appear to him to have formed, through ignorance, mistaken ideas and expectations of what is to be obtained there; he thinks it may be useful, and prevent inconvenient, expensive, and fruitless removals and voyages of improper persons, if he gives some clearer and truer notions of that part of the world than appear to have hitherto prevailed.

He finds it is imagined by numbers, that the inhabitants of North-America are rich, capable of rewarding, and disposed to reward all sorts of ingenuity; that they are at the same time ignorant of all the sciences, and consequently that strangers, possessing talents in the belles-lettres, fine arts, &c. must be highly esteemed, and so well paid as to become easily rich themselves; that there are also abundance  
of



of profitable offices to be disposed of, which the natives are not qualified to fill; and that having few persons of family among them, strangers of birth must be greatly respected, and of course easily obtain the best of those offices, which will make all their fortunes: that the governments too, to encourage emigrations from Europe, not only pay the expence of personal transportation, but give lands gratis to strangers, with negroes to work for them, utensils of husbandry, and stocks of cattle. These are all wild imaginations; and those who go to America with expectations founded upon them, will surely find themselves disappointed.

The truth is, that though there are in that country few people so miserable as the poor of Europe, there are also very few that in Europe would be called rich: it is rather a general happy mediocrity that prevails. There are few great proprietors of the soil, and few tenants; most people cultivate their own lands, or follow some handicraft or merchandise; very few rich enough to live idly upon their rents or incomes, or to pay the high prices given in Europe for painting, statues, architecture, and the other works of art that are more curious than useful. Hence the natural geniuses that have arisen in America, with such talents, have uniformly quitted that country for Europe, where they can be more suitably rewarded. It is true that letters and mathematical knowledge are in esteem there, but they are at the same time

time more common than is apprehended ; there being already existing nine colleges, or universities, viz. four in New-England, and one in each of the provinces of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, all furnished with learned Professors ; besides a number of smaller academies : these educate many of their youth in the languages, and those sciences that qualify men for the professions of divinity, law, or physic. Strangers indeed are by no means excluded from exercising those professions ; and the quick increase of inhabitants every where gives them a chance of employ, which they have in common with the natives. Of civil offices or employments, there are few ; no superfluous ones as in Europe ; and it is a rule established in some of the States, that no office should be so profitable as to make it desirable. The 36th article of the constitution of Pennsylvania runs expressly in these words :  
 “ As every freeman, to preserve his independ-  
 “ ence (if he has not a sufficient estate) ought  
 “ to have some profession, calling, trade, or  
 “ farm, whereby he may honestly subsist, there  
 “ can be no necessity for, nor use in, esta-  
 “ blishing offices of profit ; the usual effects  
 “ of which are dependence and servility,  
 “ unbecoming freemen, in the possessors and  
 “ expectants ; faction, contention, corruption,  
 “ and disorder among the people. Where-  
 “ fore, whenever an office, through increase  
 “ of fees or otherwise, becomes so profitable

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“ as

“ as to occasion many to apply for it, the profits ought to be lessened by the legislature.”

These ideas prevailing more or less in all the United States, it cannot be worth any man's while, who has a means of living at home, to expatriate himself in hopes of obtaining a profitable civil office in America; and as to military offices, they are at an end with the war, the armies being disbanded. Much less is it advisable for a person to go thither who has no other quality to recommend him but his birth. In Europe it has indeed its value; but it is a commodity that cannot be carried to a worse market than to that of America, where people do not enquire concerning a stranger, *What is he?* but *What can he do?* If he has any useful art, he is welcome; and if he exercises it, and behaves well, he will be respected by all that know him; but a mere man of quality, who on that account wants to live upon the public, by some office or salary, will be despised and disregarded. The husbandman is in honour there, and even the mechanic, because their employments are useful. The people have a saying, that God Almighty is himself a mechanic, the greatest in the universe; and he is respected and admired more for the variety, ingenuity, and utility of his handiworks, than for the antiquity of his family. They are pleased with the observation of a negro, and frequently mention it, that Boccarorra (meaning the white man) make de black man workee,



make de horse workee, make de ox workee, make ebery ting workee; only de hog. He de hog, no workee; he eat, he drink, he walk about, he go to sleep when he please, he libb like a gentleman. According to these opinions of the Americans, one of them would think himself more obliged to a genealogist, who could prove for him that his ancestors and relations for ten generations had been ploughmen, smiths, carpenters, turners, weavers, tanners, or even shoemakers, and consequently that they were useful members of society; than if he could only prove that they were gentlemen, doing nothing of value, but living idly on the labour of others, mere *fruges consumere nati* \*, and otherwise good for nothing, till by their death, their estates, like the carcase of the negro's gentleman-hog, come to be cut up.

With regard to encouragements for strangers from government, they are really only what are derived from good laws and liberty. Strangers are welcome because there is room enough for them all, and therefore the old inhabitants are not jealous of them; the laws protect them sufficiently, so that they have no need of the patronage of great men; and every one will enjoy securely the profits of his industry. But if he does not bring a fortune with him, he must work and be industrious to live. One or two

\* There are a number of us born  
Merely to eat up the corn. WATTS.

years residence give him all the rights of a citizen; but the government does not at present, whatever it may have done in former times, hire people to become settlers, by paying their passages, giving land, negroes, utensils, stock, or any other kind of emolument whatsoever. In short, America is the land of labour, and by no means what the English call *Lubberland*, and the French *Pays de Cocagne*, where the streets are said to be paved with half-peck loaves, the houses tiled with pancakes, and where the fowls fly about ready roasted, crying, *Come eat me!*

Who then are the kind of persons to whom an emigration to America may be advantageous? And what are the advantages they may reasonably expect?

Land being cheap in that country, from the vast forests still void of inhabitants, and not likely to be occupied in an age to come, inasmuch that the propriety of an hundred acres of fertile soil full of wood may be obtained near the frontiers, in many places, for eight or ten guineas, hearty young labouring men, who understand the husbandry of corn and cattle, which is nearly the same in that country as in Europe, may easily establish themselves there. A little money saved of the good wages they receive there while they work for others, enables them to buy the land and begin their plantation, in which they are assisted by the good will of their neighbours, and some credit. Multitudes  
 I of

of poor people from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Germany, have by this means in a few years become wealthy farmers, who in their own countries, where all the lands are fully occupied, and the wages of labour low, could never have emerged from the mean condition wherein they were born.

From the salubrity of the air, the healthiness of the climate, the plenty of good provisions, and the encouragement to early marriages, by the certainty of subsistence in cultivating the earth, the increase of inhabitants by natural generation is very rapid in America, and becomes still more so by the accession of strangers ; hence there is a continual demand for more artisans of all the necessary and useful kinds, to supply those cultivators of the earth with houses, and with furniture and utensils of the grosser sorts, which cannot so well be brought from Europe. Tolerably good workmen in any of those mechanic arts, are sure to find employ, and to be well paid for their work, there being no restraints preventing strangers from exercising any art they understand, nor any permission necessary. If they are poor, they begin first as servants or journeymen ; and if they are sober, industrious, and frugal, they soon become masters, establish themselves in business, marry, raise families, and become respectable citizens.

Also, persons of moderate fortunes and capitals, who having a number of children to provide for, are desirous of bringing them up



to industry, and to secure estates for their posterity, have opportunities of doing it in America, which Europe does not afford. There they may be taught and practise profitable mechanic arts, without incurring disgrace on that account; but on the contrary acquiring respect by such abilities. There small capitals laid out in lands, which daily become more valuable by the increase of people, afford a solid prospect of ample fortunes thereafter for those children. The writer of this has known several instances of large tracts of land, bought on what was then the frontier of Pennsylvania, for ten pounds per hundred acres, which, after twenty years, when the settlements had been extended far beyond them, sold readily, without any improvement made upon them, for three pounds per acre. The acre in America is the same with the English acre, or the acre of Normandy.

Those who desire to understand the state of government in America, would do well to read the constitutions of the several states, and the articles of confederation that bind the whole together for general purposes, under the direction of one assembly called the Congress. These constitutions have been printed by order of Congress, in America; two editions of them have also been printed in London; and a good translation of them into French, has lately been published at Paris.

Several of the princes of Europe having of late, from an opinion of advantage to arise by  
 producing

producing all commodities and manufactures within their own dominions, so as to diminish or render useless their importations, have endeavoured to entice workmen from other countries, by high salaries, privileges, &c. Many persons pretending to be skilled in various great manufactures, imagining that America must be in want of them, and that the Congress would probably be disposed to imitate the princes above-mentioned, have proposed to go over, on condition of having their passages paid, lands given, salaries appointed, exclusive privileges for terms of years, &c. Such persons, on reading the articles of confederation, will find that the Congress have no power committed to them, or money put into their hands, for such purposes; and that if any such encouragement is given, it must be by the government of some separate state. This, however, has rarely been done in America; and when it has been done, it has rarely succeeded, so as to establish a manufacture, which the country was not yet so ripe for as to encourage private persons to set it up; labour being generally too dear there, and hands difficult to be kept together, every one desiring to be a master, and the cheapness of land inclining many to leave trades for agriculture. Some indeed have met with success, and are carried on to advantage; but they are generally such as require only a few hands, or wherein great part of the work is performed by machines. Goods that

are bulky, and of so small value as not well to bear the expence of freight, may often be made cheaper in the country than they can be imported; and the manufacture of such goods will be profitable wherever there is a sufficient demand. The farmers in America produce indeed a good deal of wool and flax; and none is exported, it is all worked up; but it is in the way of domestic manufacture for the use of the family. The buying up quantities of wool and flax, with the design to employ spinners, weavers, &c. and form great establishments, producing quantities of linen and woollen goods for sale, has been several times attempted in different provinces; but those projects have generally failed, goods of equal value being imported cheaper. And when the governments have been solicited to support such schemes by encouragements, in money, or by imposing duties on importation of such goods, it has been generally refused, on this principle, that if the country is ripe for the manufacture, it may be carried on by private persons to advantage; and if not, it is a folly to think of forcing nature. Great establishments of manufacture, require great numbers of poor to do the work for small wages; those poor are to be found in Europe, but will not be found in America, till the lands are all taken up and cultivated, and the excess of people who cannot get land want employment. The manufacture of silk, they say, is natural in France, as that of cloth in England,



England, because each country produces in plenty the first material : but if England will have a manufacture of silk as well as that of cloth, and France of cloth as well as that of silk, these unnatural operations must be supported by mutual prohibitions, or high duties on the importation of each others goods ; by which means the workmen are enabled to tax the home consumer by greater prices, while the higher wages they receive makes them neither happier nor richer, since they only drink more and work less. Therefore the governments in America do nothing to encourage such projects. The people, by this means, are not imposed on, either by the merchant or mechanic ; if the merchant demands too much profit on imported shoes, they buy of the shoemaker ; and if he asks too high a price, they take them of the merchant : thus the two professions are checks on each other. The shoemaker, however, has, on the whole, a considerable profit upon his labour in America, beyond what he had in Europe, as he can add to his price a sum nearly equal to all the expences of freight and commission, risque or insurance, &c. necessarily charged by the merchant. And the case is the same with the workmen in every other mechanic art. Hence it is, that artisans generally live better and more easily in America than in Europe ; and such as are good œconomists, make a comfortable provision for age, and for their children.

children. Such may, therefore, remove with advantage to America.

In the old long-settled countries of Europe, all arts, trades, professions, farms, &c. are so full, that it is difficult for a poor man, who has children, to place them where they may gain, or learn to gain, a decent livelihood. The artisans, who fear creating future rivals in business, refuse to take apprentices, but upon conditions of money, maintenance, or the like, which the parents are unable to comply with. Hence the youth are dragged up in ignorance of every gainful art, and obliged to become soldiers or servants, or thieves, for a subsistence. In America, the rapid increase of inhabitants takes away that fear of rivalry, and artisans willingly receive apprentices from the hope of profit by their labour, during the remainder of the time stipulated, after they shall be instructed. Hence it is easy for poor families to get their children instructed; for the artisans are so desirous of apprentices, that many of them will even give money to the parents, to have boys from ten to fifteen years of age bound apprentices to them, till the age of twenty-one; and many poor parents have, by that means, on their arrival in the country, raised money enough to buy land sufficient to establish themselves, and to subsist the rest of their family by agriculture. These contracts for apprentices are made before a magistrate, who regulates the agreement according to reason and justice; and having

ing in view the formation of a future useful citizen, obliges the master to engage by a written indenture, not only that, during the time of service stipulated, the apprentice shall be duly provided with meat, drink, apparel, washing, and lodging, and at its expiration with a compleat new suit of clothes, but also that he shall be taught to read, write, and cast accompts; and that he shall be well instructed in the art or profession of his master, or some other, by which he may afterwards gain a livelihood, and be able in his turn to raise a family. A copy of this indenture is given to the apprentice or his friends, and the magistrate keeps a record of it, to which recourse may be had, in case of failure by the master in any point of performance. This desire among the masters to have more hands employed in working for them, induces them to pay the passages of young persons, of both sexes, who on their arrival agree to serve them one, two, three, or four years; those who have already learned a trade, agreeing for a shorter term, in proportion to their skill, and the consequent immediate value of their service; and those who have none, agreeing for a longer term, in consideration of being taught an art their poverty would not permit them to acquire in their own country.

The almost general mediocrity of fortune that prevails in America, obliging its people to follow some business for subsistence, those vices that arise usually from idleness, are in a  
great



great measure prevented. Industry and constant employment are great preservatives of the morals and virtue of a nation. Hence bad examples to youth are more rare in America, which must be a comfortable consideration to parents. To this may be truly added, that serious religion, under its various denominations, is not only tolerated, but respected and practised. Atheism is unknown there; infidelity rare and secret; so that persons may live to a great age in that country without having their piety shocked by meeting with either an atheist or an infidel. And the Divine Being seems to have manifested his approbation of the mutual forbearance and kindness with which the different sects treat each other, by the remarkable prosperity with which he has been pleased to favour the whole country.

## R E M A R K S

## CONCERNING THE

## SAVAGES OF NORTH-AMERICA.

**S**AVAGES we call them, because their manners differ from ours, which we think the perfection of civility; they think the same of theirs.

Perhaps if we could examine the manners of different nations with impartiality, we should find no people so rude as to be without any rules of politeness; nor any so polite as not to have some remains of rudeness.

The Indian men, when young, are hunters and warriors; when old, counsellors; for all their government is by the counsel or advice of the sages; there is no force, there are no prisons, no officers to compel obedience, or inflict punishment. Hence they generally study oratory; the best speaker having the most influence. The Indian women till the ground, dress the food, nurse and bring up the children, and preserve and hand down to posterity the memory of public transactions. These employments of men and women are accounted natural and honourable. Having few artificial wants, they have abundance of leisure for improvement by conversation. Our laborious manner  
of

of life compared with theirs, they esteem slavish and base; and the learning on which we value ourselves, they regard as frivolous and useless. An instance of this occurred at the treaty of Lancaster in Pennsylvania, anno 1744, between the government of Virginia and the Six Nations. After the principal business was settled, the commissioners from Virginia acquainted the Indians by a speech, that there was at Williamsburg a college with a fund, for educating Indian youth; and that if the chiefs of the Six Nations would send down half a dozen of their sons to that college, the government would take care that they should be well provided for, and instructed in all the learning of the white people. It is one of the Indian rules of politeness not to answer a public proposition the same day that it is made; they think it would be treating it as a light matter; and that they shew it respect by taking time to consider it, as of a matter important. They therefore deferred their answer till the day following; when their speaker began, by expressing their deep sense of the kindness of the Virginia government, in making them that offer; "for we know," says he, "that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those colleges, and that the maintenance of our young men, while with you, would be very expensive to you. We are convinced, therefore, that you mean to do us good by your proposal, and we thank you heartily. But you



“ you who are wise must know, that different  
 “ nations have different conceptions of things;  
 “ and you will therefore not take it amiss, if  
 “ our ideas of this kind of education happen  
 “ not to be the same with yours. We have  
 “ had some experience of it: several of our  
 “ young people were formerly brought up at  
 “ the colleges of the northern provinces;  
 “ they were instructed in all your sciences;  
 “ but when they came back to us, they were  
 “ bad runners; ignorant of every means of  
 “ living in the woods; unable to bear either  
 “ cold or hunger; knew neither how to build  
 “ a cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy; spoke  
 “ our language imperfectly; were therefore  
 “ neither fit for hunters, warriors, or counsel-  
 “ lers; they were totally good for nothing.  
 “ We are however not the less obliged by  
 “ your kind offer, though we decline accept-  
 “ ing it: and to show our grateful sense of it,  
 “ if the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a  
 “ dozen of their sons, we will take great care  
 “ of their education, instruct them in all we  
 “ know, and make *men* of them.”

Having frequent occasions to hold public  
 councils, they have acquired great order and  
 decency in conducting them. The old men sit  
 in the foremost ranks, the warriors in the next,  
 and the women and children in the hindmost.  
 The business of the women is to take exact no-  
 tice of what passes, imprint it in their memo-  
 ries, for they have no writing, and communi-  
 cate

cate it to their children. They are the records of the council, and they preserve tradition of the stipulations in treaties a hundred years back; which, when we compare with our writings, we always find exact. He that would speak, rises. The rest observe a profound silence. When he has finished, and sits down, they leave him five or six minutes to recollect, that if he has omitted any thing he intended to say, or has any thing to add, he may rise again, and deliver it. To interrupt another, even in common conversation, is reckoned highly indecent. How different this is from the conduct of a polite British House of Commons, where scarce a day passes without some confusion, that makes the Speaker hoarse in calling *to order*; and how different from the mode of conversation in many polite companies of Europe, where, if you do not deliver your sentence with great rapidity, you are cut off in the middle of it by the impatient loquacity of those you converse with, and never suffered to finish it!

The politeness of these savages in conversation, is, indeed, carried to excess; since it does not permit them to contradict or deny the truth of what is asserted in their presence. By this means they indeed avoid disputes; but then it becomes difficult to know their minds, or what impression you make upon them. The missionaries who have attempted to convert them to Christianity, all complain of this as  
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one of the great difficulties of their mission. The Indians hear with patience the truths of the gospel explained to them, and give their usual tokens of assent and approbation: you would think they were convinced. No such matter. It is mere civility.

A Swedish minister having assembled the chiefs of the Sasquehanah Indians, made a sermon to them, acquainting them with the principal historical facts on which our religion is founded; such as the fall of our first parents by eating an apple; the coming of Christ to repair the mischief; his miracles and suffering, &c.—When he had finished, an Indian orator stood up to thank him. “What you have told us,” says he “is all very good. It is indeed bad to eat apples. It is better to make them all into cyder. We are much obliged by your kindness in coming so far, to tell us those things which you have heard from your mothers. In return, I will tell you some of those we have heard from ours.

“In the beginning, our fathers had only the flesh of animals to subsist on; and if their hunting was unsuccessful, they were starving. Two of our young hunters having killed a deer, made a fire in the woods to broil some parts of it. When they were about to satisfy their hunger, they beheld a beautiful young woman descend from the clouds, and seat herself on that hill

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“which



“ which you see yonder among the Blue Moun-  
“ tains. They said to each other, it is a spirit  
“ that perhaps has smelt our broiling venison,  
“ and wishes to eat of it : let us offer some to  
“ to her. They presented her with the tongue :  
“ she was pleased with the taste of it, and said,  
“ Your kindness shall be rewarded. Come to  
“ this place after thirteen moons, and you shall  
“ find something that will be of great benefit  
“ in nourishing you and your children to the  
“ latest generations. They did so, and to their  
“ surprise, found plants they had never seen  
“ before ; but which, from that ancient time,  
“ have been constantly cultivated among us,  
“ to our great advantage. Where her righthand  
“ had touched the ground, they found maize ;  
“ where her left hand had touched it, they  
“ found kidney-beans ; and where her back-  
“ side had sat on it, they found tobacco.” The  
good missionary, disgusted with this idle tale,  
said, “ What I delivered to you were sacred  
“ truths ; but what you tell me is mere fable,  
“ fiction, and falsehood.” The Indian, offend-  
ed, replied, “ My brother, it seems your friends  
“ have not done you justice in your education ;  
“ they have not well instructed you in the rules  
“ of common civility. You saw that we, who  
“ understand and practise those rules, believed  
“ all your stories, why do you refuse to believe  
“ ours ? ”

When any of them come into our towns,  
our people are apt to crowd round them, gaze  
upon

upon them, and incommode them where they desire to be private; this they esteem great rudeness, and the effect of the want of instruction in the rules of civility and good manners. "We have," say they, "as much curiosity as you, and when you come into our towns, we wish for opportunities of looking at you; but for this purpose we hide ourselves behind bushes where you are to pass, and never intrude ourselves into your company."

Their manner of entering one another's villages has likewise its rules. It is reckoned uncivil in travelling strangers to enter a village abruptly, without giving notice of their approach. Therefore, as soon as they arrive within hearing, they stop and hollow, remaining there till invited to enter. Two old men usually come out to them, and lead them in. There is in every village a vacant dwelling, called the strangers' house. Here they are placed, while the old men go round from hut to hut, acquainting the inhabitants that strangers are arrived, who are probably hungry and weary; and every one sends them what he can spare of victuals, and skins to repose on. When the strangers are refreshed, pipes and tobacco are brought; and then, but not before, conversation begins, with enquiries who they are, whither bound, what news, &c. and it usually ends with offers of service; if the strangers have occasion of guides, or any necessaries for continuing their

M 2                      journey;

journey; and nothing is exacted for the entertainment.

The same hospitality, esteemed among them as a principal virtue, is practised by private persons; of which *Conrad Weiser*, our interpreter, gave me the following instance. He had been naturalized among the Six Nations, and spoke well the Mohock language. In going through the Indian country, to carry a message from our governor to the council at *Onondaga*, he called at the habitation of *Canassatego*, an old acquaintance, who embraced him, spread furs for him to sit on, placed before him some boiled beans and venison, and mixed some rum and water for his drink. When he was well refreshed, and had lit his pipe, *Canassatego* began to converse with him: asked how he had fared the many years since they had seen each other, whence he then came, what occasioned the journey, &c. *Conrad* answered all his questions; and when the discourse began to flag, the Indian, to continue it, said, “*Conrad*, you have lived long among the white people, and know something of their customs; I have been sometimes at Albany, and have observed, that once in seven days they shut up their shops, and assemble all in the great house; tell me, what it is for? What do they do there?” “They meet there,” says *Conrad*, “to hear and learn good things.” “I do not doubt,” says the Indian, “that they tell you so; they have told



“ told me the same: but I doubt the truth  
 “ of what they say, and I will tell you my  
 “ reasons. I went lately to Albany to sell my  
 “ skins, and buy blankets, knives, powder,  
 “ rum, &c. You know I used generally to  
 “ deal with Hans Hanson; but I was a little  
 “ inclined this time to try some other mer-  
 “ chants. However, I called first upon Hans,  
 “ and asked him what he would give for bea-  
 “ ver. He said he could not give more than  
 “ four shillings a pound: but, says he, I can-  
 “ not talk on business now; this is the day  
 “ when we meet together to learn *good things*,  
 “ and I am going to the meeting. So I thought  
 “ to myself, since I cannot do any business to-  
 “ day, I may as well go to the meeting too,  
 “ and I went with him. There stood up a man  
 “ in black, and began to talk to the people  
 “ very angrily. I did not understand what he  
 “ said; but perceiving that he looked much  
 “ at me, and at Hanson, I imagined he was  
 “ angry at seeing me there; so I went out,  
 “ sat down near the house, struck fire, and lit  
 “ my pipe, waiting till the meeting should  
 “ break up. I thought too, that the man had  
 “ mentioned something of beaver, and I sus-  
 “ pected it might be the subject of their meet-  
 “ ing. So when they came out, I accosted my  
 “ merchant. “ Well, Hans,” says I, “ I hope  
 “ you have agreed to give more than four  
 “ shillings a pound.” “ No,” says he, “ I can-  
 “ not give so much. I cannot give more than

“ three shillings and sixpence.” I then spoke  
 “ to several other dealers, but they all sung  
 “ the same song, three and sixpence, three and  
 “ sixpence. This made it clear to me that my  
 “ suspicion was right; and that whatever they  
 “ pretended of meeting to learn *good things*,  
 “ the real purpose was to consult how to cheat  
 “ Indians in the price of beaver. Consider but  
 “ a little, Conran, and you must be of my opi-  
 “ nion. If they met so often to learn *good*  
 “ *things*, they would certainly have learned  
 “ some before this time. But they are still  
 “ ignorant. You know our practice. If a  
 “ white man in travelling through our coun-  
 “ try, enters one of our cabins, we all treat  
 “ him as I treat you; we dry him if he is wet,  
 “ we warm him if he is cold, and give him  
 “ meat and drink, that he may allay his thirst  
 “ and hunger; and we spread soft furs for him  
 “ to rest and sleep on: we demand nothing in  
 “ return\*. But if I go into a white man’s  
 “ house at Albany, and ask for victuals and  
 “ drink, they say, Where is your money; and  
 “ if I have none, they say, Get out, you Indian  
 “ dog. You see they have not yet learned those

\* It is remarkable, that in all ages and countries, hospitality  
 has been allowed as the virtue of those, whom the civilized were  
 pleased to call Barbarians; the Greeks celebrated the Scythians  
 for it. The Saracens possessed it eminently; and it is to this  
 day the reigning virtue of the wild Arabs. St. Paul too, in the  
 relation of his voyage and shipwreck, on the island of Melita,  
 says, “ The barbarous people shewed us no little kindness; for  
 “ they kindled a fire, and received us every one, because of the  
 “ present rain, and because of the cold.”

“ little

“ little *good things*, that we need no meetings  
 “ to be instructed in, because our mothers  
 “ taught them to us when we were children ;  
 “ and therefore it is impossible their meet-  
 “ ings should be, as they say, for any such  
 “ purpose, or have any such effect; they  
 “ are only to contrive *the cheating of Indians*  
 “ *in the price of beaver.*”



T H E  
INTERNAL STATE OF AMERICA,

*Being a true Description of the Interest and  
Policy of that vast Continent.*

THE RE is a tradition, that in the planting of New-England, the first settlers met with many difficulties and hardships, as is generally the case when a civilized people attempt establishing themselves in a wilderness country. Being piously disposed, they sought relief from Heaven, by laying their wants and distresses before the Lord in frequent set days of fasting and prayer. Constant meditation and discourse on these subjects kept their minds gloomy and discontented; and, like the children of Israel, there were many disposed to return to that Egypt which persecution had induced them to abandon. At length, when it was proposed in the assembly to proclaim another fast, a farmer of plain sense rose, and remarked, that the inconveniences they suffered, and concerning which they had so often wearied Heaven with their complaints, were not so great as they might have expected, and were diminishing every day as the colony strengthened; that the earth began to reward their labour, and  
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to furnish liberally for their subsistence; that the seas and rivers were found full of fish, the air sweet, the climate healthy; and, above all, that they were there in the full enjoyment of liberty, civil and religious: he therefore thought, that reflecting and conversing on these subjects would be more comfortable, as tending more to make them contented with their situation; and that it would be more becoming the gratitude they owed to the Divine Being, if, instead of a fast, they should proclaim a thanksgiving. His advice was taken; and from that day to this they have, in every year, observed circumstances of public felicity sufficient to furnish employment for a thanksgiving-day, which is therefore constantly ordered and religiously observed.

I see in the public news-papers of different states frequent complaints of *hard times, deadness of trade, scarcity of money, &c. &c.* It is not my intention to assert or maintain that these complaints are entirely without foundation. There can be no country or nation existing, in which there will not be some people so circumstanced as to find it hard to gain a livelihood; people who are not in the way of any profitable trade, and with whom money is scarce, because they have nothing to give in exchange for it; and it is always in the power of a small number to make a great clamour. But let us take a cool view of the general state of our affairs, and perhaps

haps the prospect will appear less gloomy than has been imagined.

The great business of the Continent is agriculture. For one artisan, or merchant, I suppose we have at least 100 farmers, by far the greatest part cultivators of their own fertile lands, from whence many of them draw not only food necessary for their subsistence, but the materials of their cloathing, so as to need very few foreign supplies; while they have a surplus of productions to dispose of, whereby wealth is gradually accumulated. Such has been the goodness of Divine Providence to these regions, and so favourable the climate, that since the three or four years of hardship in the first settlement of our fathers here, a famine or scarcity has never been heard of amongst us; on the contrary, though some years may have been more, and others less plentiful, there has always been provision enough for ourselves, and a quantity to spare for exportation. And although the crops of last year were generally good, never was the farmer better paid for the part he can spare commerce, as the published price currents abundantly testify. The lands he possesses are also continually rising in value with the increase of population; and, on the whole, he is enabled to give such good wages to those who work for him, that all who are acquainted with the old world must agree, that in no part of it are the labouring poor so generally



rally well fed, well cloathed, well lodged, and well paid, as in the United States of America.

If we enter the cities, we find that, since the revolution, the owners of houses and lots of ground have had their interest vastly augmented in value ; rents have risen to an astonishing height, and thence encouragement to increase building, which gives employment to an abundance of workmen, as does also the increased luxury and splendour of living of the inhabitants thus made richer. These workmen all demand and obtain much higher wages than any other part of the world would afford them, and are paid in ready money. This rank of people therefore do not, or ought not, to complain of hard times ; and they make a very considerable part of the city inhabitants.

At the distance I live from our American fisheries, I cannot speak of them with any degree of certainty ; but I have not heard that the labour of the valuable race of men employed in them is worse paid, or that they meet with less success, than before the revolution. The whalemens indeed have been deprived of one market for their oil ; but another, I hear, is opening for them, which it is hoped may be equally advantageous ; and the demand is constantly increasing for their spermaceti candles, which therefore bear a much higher price than formerly.

There remain the merchants and shopkeepers. Of these, though they make but a small part of the  
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the whole nation, the number is considerable, too great indeed for the business they are employed in; for the consumption of goods in every country has its limits; the faculties of the people, that is, their ability to buy and pay, is equal only to a certain quantity of merchandize. If merchants calculate amiss on this proportion, and import too much, they will of course find the sale dull for the overplus, and some of them will say that trade languishes. They should, and doubtless will, grow wiser by experience, and import less. If too many artificers in town, and farmers from the country, flattering themselves with the idea of leading easier lives, turn shopkeepers, the whole natural quantity of that business divided among them all may afford too small a share for each, and occasion complaints that trading is dead; these may also suppose that it is owing to scarcity of money, while, in fact, it is not so much from the fewness of buyers, as from the excessive number of sellers, that the mischief arises; and, if every shopkeeping farmer and mechanic would return to the use of his plough and working tools, there would remain of widows, and other women, shopkeepers sufficient for the business, which might then afford them a comfortable maintenance.

Whoever has travelled through the various parts of Europe, and observed how small is the proportion of people in affluence or easy circumstances there, compared with those in po-

verty and misery ; the few rich and haughty landlords, the multitude of poor, abject, rack-rented, tythe-paying tenants, and half-paid and half-starved ragged labourers ; and views here the happy mediocrity that so generally prevails throughout these states, where the cultivator works for himself, and supports his family in decent plenty ; will, methinks, see abundant reason to bless Divine Providence for the evident and great difference in our favour, and be convinced that no nation known to us enjoys a greater share of human felicity.

It is true, that in some of the states there are parties and discords ; but let us look back, and ask if we were ever without them ? Such will exist wherever there is liberty ; and perhaps they help to preserve it. By the collision of different sentiments, sparks of truth are struck out, and political light is obtained. The different factions, which at present divide us, aim all at the public good ; the differences are only about the various modes of promoting it. Things, actions, measures, and objects of all kinds, present themselves to the minds of men in such a variety of lights, that it is not possible we should all think alike at the same time on every subject, when hardly the same man retains at all times the same ideas of it. Parties are therefore the common lot of humanity ; and ours are by no means more mischievous or less beneficial than those of other countries, nations, and ages, enjoying in the  
same



same degree the great blessing of political liberty.

Some indeed among us are not so much grieved for the present state of our affairs, as apprehensive for the future. The growth of luxury alarms them, and they think we are from that alone in the high road to ruin. They observe, that no revenue is sufficient without œconomy, and that the most plentiful income of a whole people from the natural productions of their country may be dissipated in vain and needless expences, and poverty be introduced in the place of affluence.—This may be possible. It however rarely happens : for there seems to be in every nation a greater proportion of industry and frugality, which tend to enrich, than of idleness and prodigality, which occasion poverty, so that upon the whole there is a continual accumulation. Reflect what Spain, Gaul, Germany, and Britain were in the time of the Romans, inhabited by people little richer than our savages, and consider the wealth they at present possess, in numerous well-built cities, improved farms, rich moveables, magazines stocked with valuable manufactures, to say nothing of plate, jewels, and coined money ; and all this, notwithstanding their bad, wasteful, plundering governments, and their mad destructive wars ; and yet luxury and extravagant living has never suffered much restraint in those countries. Then consider the great proportion

portion of industrious frugal farmers inhabiting the interior parts of these American states, and of whom the body of our nation consists, and judge whether it is possible that the luxury of our sea-ports can be sufficient to ruin such a country.—If the importation of foreign luxuries could ruin a people, we should probably have been ruined long ago : for the British nation claimed a right, and practised it, of importing among us not only the superfluities of their own production, but those of every nation under heaven ; we bought and consumed them, and yet we flourished and grew rich. At present our independent governments may do what we could not then do, discourage by heavy duties, or prevent by heavy prohibitions, such importations, and thereby grow richer ;—if, indeed, which may admit of dispute, the desire of adorning ourselves with fine clothes, possessing fine furniture, with elegant houses, &c. is not, by strongly inciting to labour and industry, the occasion of producing a greater value than is consumed in the gratification of that desire.

The agriculture and fisheries of the United States are the great sources of our increasing wealth. He that puts a seed into the earth is recompensed, perhaps, by receiving forty out of it ; and he who draws a fish out of our water, draws up a piece of silver.

Let us (and there is no doubt but we shall) be attentive to these, and than the power of  
rivals,

rivals, with all their restraining and prohibiting acts, cannot much hurt us. We are sons of the earth and seas, and, like Antæus in the fable, if in wrestling with a Hercules we now and then receive a fall, the touch of our parents will communicate to us fresh strength and vigour to renew the contest,

*Letter*



*Letter from Dr. B. FRANKLIN to B—  
V—, Esq; on the Criminal Laws, and the  
Practice of Privateering.*

My dear Friend,

March 14th, 1785.

**A**MONG the pamphlets you lately sent me, was one, intituled, *Thoughts on Executive Justice*: In return for that, I send you a French one on the same subject, *Observations concernant l'Exécution de l'Article II. de la Déclaration sur le Vol*. They are both addressed to the judges, but written, as you will see, in a very different spirit. The English author is for hanging *all* thieves. The Frenchman is for proportioning punishments to offences.

If we really believe, as we profess to believe, that the law of Moses was the law of God, the dictate of divine wisdom, infinitely superior to human; on what principles do we ordain death as the punishment of an offence, which, according to that law, was only to be punished by a restitution of fourfold? To put a man to death for an offence which does not deserve death, is it not a murder? And, as the French writer says, *Doit-on punir un délit contre la société par un crime contre la nature?*

Superfluous property is the creature of society. Simple and mild laws were sufficient to guard the property that was merely necessary. The savage's bow, his hatchet, and his coat of skins, were sufficiently secured, without law,

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by the fear of personal resentment and retaliation. When, by virtue of the first laws, part of the society accumulated wealth and grew powerful, they enacted others more severe, and would protect their property, at the expence of humanity. This was abusing their power, and commencing a tyranny. If a savage, before he entered into society, had been told — “Your  
 “neighbour, by this means, may become  
 “owner of an hundred deer; but if your brother, or your son, or yourself, having no  
 “deer of your own, and being hungry, should  
 “kill one, an infamous death must be the  
 “consequence,” he would probably have preferred his liberty, and his common right of killing any deer, to all the advantages of society that might be proposed to him.

That it is better a hundred guilty persons should escape, than that one innocent person should suffer, is a maxim that has been long and generally approved; never, that I know of, controverted. Even the sanguinary author of the *Thoughts* agrees to it, adding well, “that the very thought of *injured* innocence, “and much more that of *suffering* innocence, “must awaken all our tenderest and most “compassionate feelings, and at the same time “raise our highest indignation against the instruments of it. But,” he adds, “there is no “danger of *either*, from a strict adherence to “the laws.” — Really! — Is it then impossible to make an unjust law? and if the law itself

be unjust, may it not be the very "instrument" which ought "to raise the author's and every body's highest indignation?" I see, in the last news-papers from London, that a woman is capitally convicted at the Old Bailey, for privately stealing out of a shop some gauze, value fourteen shillings and three pence: Is there any proportion between the injury done by a theft, value fourteen shillings and three pence, and the punishment of a human creature, by death, on a gibbet? Might not that woman, by her labour, have made the reparation ordained by God, in paying fourfold? Is not all punishment inflicted beyond the merit of the offence, so much punishment of innocence? In this light, how vast is the annual quantity, of not only *injured* but *suffering* innocence, in almost all the civilized states of Europe!

But it seems to have been thought, that this kind of innocence may be punished by way of *preventing* crimes. I have read, indeed, of a cruel Turk, in Barbary, who, whenever he bought a new Christian slave, ordered him immediately to be hung up by the legs, and to receive a hundred blows of a cudgel, on the soles of his feet, that the severe sense of the punishment, and fear of incurring it thereafter, might prevent the faults that should merit it. Our author himself would hardly approve entirely of this Turk's conduct in the government of slaves, and yet he appears to re-



commend something like it for the government of English subjects, when he applauds the reply of Judge Burnet to the convict horse-stealer, who being asked what he had to say why judgment of death should not pass against him, and answering, that it was hard to hang a man for *only* stealing a horse, was told by the judge, "Man, thou art not to be hanged *only* for stealing a horse, but that horses may not be stolen." The man's answer, if candidly examined, will, I imagine, appear reasonable, as being founded on the eternal principle of justice and equity, that punishments should be proportioned to offences; and the judge's reply brutal and unreasonable, though the writer "wishes all judges to carry it with them whenever they go the circuit, and to bear it in their minds, as containing a wise reason for all the penal statutes which they are called upon to put in execution. It at once illustrates," says he, "the true grounds and reasons of all capital punishments whatsoever, namely, that every man's property, as well as his life, may be held sacred and inviolate." Is there then no difference in value between property and life? If I think it right that the crime of murder should be punished with death, not only as an equal punishment of the crime, but to prevent other murders, does it follow that I must approve of inflicting the same punishment for a little invasion on my property by theft? If I am not myself so barbarous, so bloody-minded,

and

and revengeful, as to kill a fellow-creature for stealing from me fourteen shillings and three pence, how can I approve of a law that does it? Montesquieu, who was himself a judge, endeavours to impress other maxims. He must have known what humane judges feel on such occasions, and what the effects of those feelings; and, so far from thinking that severe and excessive punishments prevent crimes, he asserts, as quoted by our French writer, that

“ *L'atrocité des loix en empêche l'exécution.*

“ *Lorsque la peine est sans mesure on est souvent obligé de lui préférer l'impunité.*

“ *La cause de tous les relâchemens vient de l'impunité des crimes et non de la modération des peines.*”

It is said by those who know Europe generally, that there are more thefts committed and punished annually in England, than in all the other nations put together. If this be so, there must be a cause or causes for such depravity in our common people. May not one be the deficiency of justice and morality in our national government, manifested in our oppressive conduct to subjects, and unjust wars on our neighbours? View the long-persisted-in, unjust, monopolizing treatment of Ireland, at length acknowledged! View the plundering government exercised by our merchants in the Indies; the confiscating war made upon the American colonies; and, to say nothing of those upon France and Spain, view the late

war upon Holland, which was seen by impartial Europe in no other light than that of a war of rapine and pillage, the hopes of an immense and easy prey being its only apparent, and probably its true and real motive and encouragement. Justice is as strictly due between neighbour nations as between neighbour citizens. A highwayman is as much a robber when he plunders in a gang as when single; and a nation that makes an unjust war is only a great gang. After employing your people in robbing the Dutch, is it strange that, being put out of that employ by peace, they still continue robbing, and rob one another? *Piraterie*, as the French call it, or privateering, is the universal bent of the English nation, at home and abroad, wherever settled. No less than seven hundred privateers were, it is said, commissioned in the last war! These were fitted out by merchants, to prey upon other merchants, who had never done them any injury. Is there probably any one of those privateering merchants of London, who were so ready to rob the merchants of Amsterdam, that would not as readily plunder another London merchant of the next street, if he could do it with the same impunity! The avidity, the *alieni appetens* is the same; it is the fear alone of the gallows that makes the difference. How then can a nation, which, among the honestest of its people, has so many thieves by inclination, and whose government encouraged and commissioned



missioned no less than seven hundred gangs of robbers ; how can such a nation have the face to condemn the crime in individuals, and hang up twenty of them in a morning ! It naturally puts one in mind of a Newgate anecdote. One of the prisoners complained, that in the night somebody had taken his buckles out of his shoes. " What the devil ! " says another, " have we then *thieves* amongst us ? It must not be suffered. Let us search out the rogue, and pump him to death."

There is, however, one late instance of an English merchant who will not profit by such ill-gotten gain. He was, it seems, part-owner of a ship, which the other owners thought fit to employ as a letter of marque, and which took a number of French prizes. The booty being shared, he has now an agent here enquiring, by an advertisement in the Gazette, for those who suffered the loss, in order to make them, as far as in him lies, restitution. This conscientious man is a Quaker. The Scotch presbyterians were formerly as tender ; for there is still extant an ordinance of the town-council of Edinburgh, made soon after the Reformation, forbidding " the purchase of prize goods, " under pain of losing the freedom of the burgh for ever, with other punishment at the will of the magistrate ; the practice of making prizes being contrary to good conscience, and the rule of treating Christian brethren as we would wish to be treated ;

“ treated ; and such goods *are not to be sold by any godly men within this burgh.*” The race of these godly men in Scotland is probably extinct, or their principles abandoned, since, as far as that nation had a hand in promoting the war against the Colonies, prizes and confiscations are believed to have been a considerable motive.

It has been for some time a generally-received opinion, that a military man is not to enquire whether a war be just or unjust ; he is to execute his orders. All princes, who are disposed to become tyrants, must probably approve of this opinion, and be willing to establish it ; but is it not a dangerous one ? Since, on that principle, if the tyrant commands his army to attack and destroy, not only an unoffending neighbour nation, but even his own subjects, the army is bound to obey. A negro slave in our Colonies, being commanded by his master to rob or murder a neighbour, or do any other immoral act, may refuse, and the magistrate will protect him in his refusal. The slavery then of a soldier is worse than that of a negro ! A conscientious officer, if not restrained by the apprehension of its being imputed to another cause, may indeed resign, rather than be employed in an unjust war ; but the private men are slaves for life ; and they are perhaps incapable of judging for themselves. We can only lament their fate, and still more  
 4 that

that of a sailor, who is often dragged by force from his honest occupation, and compelled to imbrue his hands in perhaps innocent blood. But methinks it well behoves merchants (men more enlightened by their education, and perfectly free from any such force or obligation) to consider well of the justice of a war, before they voluntarily engage a gang of ruffians to attack their fellow merchants of a neighbouring nation, to plunder them of their property, and perhaps ruin them and their families, if they yield it, or to wound, maim, and murder them, if they endeavour to defend it. Yet these things are done by Christian merchants, whether a war be just or unjust, and it can hardly be just on both sides. They are done by English and American merchants, who, nevertheless, complain of private theft, and hang by dozens the thieves they have taught by their own example.

It is high time, for the sake of humanity, that a stop were put to this enormity. The United States of America, though better situated than any European nation, to make profit by privateering (most of the trade of Europe, with the West Indies, passing before their doors) are, as far as in them lies, endeavouring to abolish the practice, by offering, in all their treaties with other powers, an article, engaging solemnly, that in case of future war, no privateer shall be commissioned on either side; and that unarmed merchant-ships, on both sides,



sides, shall pursue their voyages unmolested \*. This will be a happy improvement of the law of nations. The humane and the just cannot but wish general success to the proposition.

With unchangeable esteem and affection,

I am, my dear friend,

Ever yours.

\* This offer having been accepted by the late king of Prussia, a treaty of amity and commerce was concluded between that monarch and the United States, containing the following humane philanthropic article, in the formation of which Dr. Franklin, as one of the American Plenipotentiaries, was principally concerned; viz.

#### A R T. XXIII.

If war should arise between the two contracting parties, the merchants of either country, then residing in the other, shall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and settle their affairs, and may depart freely, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance: and all women and children, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, artizans, manufacturers, and fishermen, unarmed and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, or places, and in general all others whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments, and shall not be molested in their persons, nor shall their houses or goods be burnt, or otherwise destroyed, nor their fields wasted, by the armed force of the enemy into whose power, by the events of war, they may happen to fall; but if any thing is necessary to be taken from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at a reasonable price. And all merchant and trading vessels employed in exchanging the products of different places, and thereby rendering the necessaries, conveniences, and comforts of human life more easy to be obtained, and more general, shall be allowed to pass free and unmolested; and neither of the contracting powers shall grant or issue any commission to any private armed vessels, empowering them to take or destroy such trading vessels, or interrupt such commerce.

